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A

NEW AND IMPARTIAL

COLLECTION

OF

INTERESTING LETTERS,

FROM THE

PUBLIC PAPERS;

MANY OF THEM

Written by Perſons of Eminence,

On a great Variety of IMPORTANT SUBJECTS, which have occaſionally engaged the Public Attention:

From the Acceſſion of his preſent MAJESTY, in *September* 1765, to *May* 1767.

VOL. II.

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A COLLECTION OF INTERESTING PAPERS.

[*In July*, 1765, *an almoſt total change was made*

IN THE ADMINISTRATION,

Which gave riſe to the following LETTERS.]

All wiſe and good Princes will liſten to the complaints of their people, and diſcard a FAVOURITE, *even contrary to their own inclination, when he becomes generally odious among his fellow ſubjects.*

Craftſman, No. 67.

THERE is not a more ungrateful word in the Engliſh language than that of *Favourite*: It raiſes a very complex idea; every part of which is odious and ſhocking. It is compounded of pride, inſolence, and tyranny; and one may venture to ſay, theſe ingredients are every one of them ſo diſguſtful, that though there was nothing beſides diſagreeable in it, the word could not fail *to grate harſh diſcord* on the ear. Accordingly the perſon, to whom this name has been applied, has, in every age and nation, been an object of univerſal contempt and hatred. From Sejanus down to the Earl of Bute, the people have curſed him; and indeed not without juſtice, as he has generally conducted himſelf in the moſt imperious manner, and behaved with all the wantonneſs of oppreſſion and cruelty.

I muſt beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to lay before the public ſome few particulars, not unworthy of their notice, eſpecially as they ſeem to be at a loſs who is the occaſion of all thoſe unhappy convulſions that have of late ſo torn and diſtracted us. They were owing entirely to the reſtleſs ſpirit of that *over-bearing Favourite*, who is never happy but when he is ſhewing his power by abuſing it. It was *his* pernicious council that removed Mr. Pitt from the adminiſtration, becauſe he was the darling of the people, and would not ſubmit to act under *his* governance and direction. A crime of the ſame nature has made him determine, if poſſible, to overturn the preſent miniſtry; and as far as I am able to ſee, nothing continues them in their ſeveral departments but an impoſſibility to diſpoſe of them to perſons mean enough to act in ſuch an *underling* capacity. 'Tis to our credit, that amongſt the number of thoſe who, either through ambition or neceſſity, are gaping after employments, he cannot form a junto who will accept of them upon his own terms; that is, ſuffer themſelves to be converted into ſo many ſtate-puppets, to be dandled up and down by this great maſter of the drama. He can never forgive the gentlemen, who form the adminiſtration, the part they have acted; weary to death with being regarded as little better than ſo many cyphers in office, while HE, the ſovereign arbiter, diſpoſed imperiouſly of every place of profit and honour, they were determined either to reſign, or to ſhake off ſuch a ſhameful dependance. To convince the Minion that they were in earneſt, Mr. Mackenzie, and two or three others were immediately removed from their employments. A bold and perilous ſtep, that could not paſs off with impunity, unleſs he had given up all pretenſions to his national motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit*. But a true Scot, you know, never gives up any

thing

thing that belongs to his dear country; and one may venture to ſay of the great *Favourite*, that he is *every inch a* Scot. Stung to the quick by this ſpirited behaviour of the preſent miniſtry, he has ever ſince been indefatigable in his endeavours to remove them; and, careleſs of the repoſe of his Sovereign, and the quiet of the nation, has moved heaven and earth to effect it. I own myſelf extremely ſhocked to ſee a gentleman, of Mr. Grenville's character, made the ſport and paſtime of this muſh-room-upſtart; a man of whom we may ſay with Shakeſpeare, 'Take him for all in all, we ne'er 'ſhall look upon his like again;' of unblemiſhed reputation, of known abilities, and unſullied integrity; a man who has conducted the affairs of the nation with the utmoſt reſolution, wiſdom, and prudence; one in whom all the monied men in the kingdom place the moſt perfect confidence, and all honeſt men wiſh to ſee long continued in the adminiſtration. That *ſuch* a man ſhould be diſplaced and replaced, employed or thrown by, at the *wanton* pleaſure of a *Favourite*, muſt needs be a lamentable reflection to every one, who is concerned for the peace and proſperity of the kingdom.

Anti-Sejanus.

Si poſſis, recte; ſi non—quocunque modo. Hor.

IT is a remark of Biſhop Burnet's, that though no man has a *natural right* to a place at Court, yet every man *has a right* to get one—*if he can*. What a pity it is that the good Biſhop did not advance ſtill further, and affirm, that it is a duty which every man owes to himſelf and his family, to *accept* of a place at Court, let the conditions, on which it is offered, be *what they will*. Such ſtate-doctrine as this, if it had once been firmly eſtabliſhed, would have proved, at the preſent juncture, of very ſin-

gular ſervice to the SCOTCH FAVOURITE, and his faction. He would not then, poor man, have been at a loſs for proper perſons on whom to confer thoſe ſeveral departments, which he has of late ſo frequently and publicly ſet up to ſale. He would ſtill have had all the game *in his own hands*, and never at a loſs for *pam*, might have loo'd the whole nation. Unhappily, as matters are at preſent circumſtanced, the places at Court ſeem to go a begging; and I almoſt doubt whether any one will be hardy enough to accept them *on the Favourite's terms*. Perhaps he may be able to lay hold on two or three BOYS, who have never been trained up to office; who are entirely rude and ignorant of buſineſs; and as they have no credit to loſe, may take a deſperate leap, and plunge over head and ears at once, without ſhivering about it. He has been tampering over and over again with Mr. *Pitt*: But who can imagine that a perſon of his popularity will directly forfeit all, by co-operating with one whoſe uniform conduct has been ſeverely cenſured by the whole kingdom, who has no reputation of his own to loſe, as he is curſed by men of every rank and condition? The bad effects of being *ſuppoſed only* to be connected with him, are apparent from the behaviour of the late Spitalfields mob to his Grace the Duke of B. I was at a loſs how to account for all that virulence, which theſe ignorant and miſguided people ſhewed againſt this Nobleman, till I overheard a dialogue between one of the ringleaders and a perſon of a ſober and decent appearance, who was endeavouring to diſſuade him from his undertaking. I may ſome time or other ſend you the *queſtions* and *replies*, as near as I can recollect them, word for word, from their own mouths; as they will prove no diſagreeable entertainment to your readers: At preſent I ſhall only remark, that the ſum of his Grace's crimes was

neither

neither more nor leſs than this, that he was connected with the Scotchman, whom he ſupported with all his power and influence. How little did theſe people know of the matter; when at that very time not light and darkneſs were more directly oppoſite than his Grace and Sawney? It is well known, that the Duke of Bedford is a man of revolution-principles, and an Engliſhman. How was it poſſible, then, for him to ſupport a man of ſo different a turn, as the mighty Favourite; one who glories in the name of *Stuart*, and acts up to the vileſt kind of prerogative, HIS OWN WILL; a Scotchman by family, by birth, by inclination; one who obtrudes his needy countrymen upon us without mercy, and thruſts them into every public employment that he can poſſibly lay his hands on. No, his Grace is a man of too much honour to be connected with one who is plotting the ruin of this unhappy kingdom. It is remarkable, that the Favourite is the only perſon about Court who was not greatly ſhocked at the late inſurrection of the weavers: He ſat, good eaſy man, wrapt up, no doubt, in conſcious integrity, and enjoyed the ſtorm: So far from being apprehenſive where the tumult would end, he exulted at its beginning; and gladly embraced that opportunity of perſuading his M—— to diſcard the miniſtry, who could not fail of being HIGHLY UNPOPULAR, *as they had broken off all connection with, and dependance upon* HIM. It muſt be owned, indeed, there was a ſpice of vanity in this proceeding, as he was in hopes of acquiring popularity *by Mr. Pitt's being recalled into power*. A fallacious way of reaſoning. For my own part, I cannot conceive a more ridiculous ſight in the whole creation, than the Scotchman riding on our patriot's ſhoulders, unleſs, indeed, it ſhould be our patriot's riding on his.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

——*Importunus adeſt atque omnia turbat.*

WHAT a contemptible figure has this country made of late, in compariſon of what it might have done, had it not been for the fluctuation of our councils? And what, may I aſk, has that fluctuation been owing to but the timid, reſtleſs, and ſuſpicious diſpoſition of a FAVOURITE, to whoſe paſſions and fear, and revenge, the welfare of the nation has been alternately ſacrificed?

Is there a ſet of men that have not been taken up for a time, and diſmiſſed again *at his inſtigation?* In the courſe of five years there have been no leſs than *eight* Secretaries of State, *three* Firſt Lords of the Treaſury, and *five* of the Admiralty. Have they ALL miſbehaved in their offices? Is there none that has done well? No, not one. If this is the caſe, why have they not been brought to account for their crimes, and made to anſwer for them publicly? But, indeed, their crimes have been of a very different nature from what are cognizable in an Engliſh parliament, or an Engliſh court of juſtice. They are only ſuch as can be canvaſſed in the *Conſiliabulum* of a timid and revengeful FAVOURITE; where ſerving the public too well, and gaining too much credit with the nation, are conſidered as crimes of the blackeſt dye. *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ!* Such were the charges brought againſt Mr. PITT; and ſuch was the Court, by which he was *tried* and *ſentenced!* Such too, in all likelihood, will be the fate of thoſe, whoſe cauſe is now in actual hearing, before this *impartial* Tribunal. Never, one may venture to ſay, was public œconomy more ſtrictly attended to than by the preſent Treaſury: Never did a Miniſter acquire more reputation for his diſintereſtedneſs, and for his able management of our finances, than the very worthy and reſpectable per-

ſon

ſon who, *as yet*, preſides at that board. But, alas! as he began to gain credit in the cloſet, in parliament, and in the nation in general, he became formidable to the FAVOURITE, who, from that moment, determined to work his ruin; and his ſentence, I fear, is inevitable! for beſides the odium under which every good and great man labours in the eye of the *Chief of the Conciliabulum*, he has committed an overt act of a moſt daring and atrocious nature, has ventured to think that power was not to be truſted with ſafety to the *brother* of the FAVOURITE. This is an inexpiable crime, and will draw upon him the ſevereſt ſentence that the offended Majeſty of the FAVOURITE can poſſibly inflict.

What, then, have we *now* to expect?—A ſummer adminiſtration compoſed of raſhneſs, timidity, and corruption! ANTI-SEJANUS.

I HAVE often lamented, that in party-diſputes ſo much warmth and acrimony ſhould be made uſe of even in points which ſeem to require nothing more than cool reaſoning and ſound argument. As this is a rock which too many political writers have ſplit upon, I ſhall endeavour to ſteer clear of it as much as poſſible; and whatever indignation I may expreſs againſt *meaſures*, I ſhall have little or nothing to do with *men*. I am the rather perſuaded to this, becauſe I have remarked, that thoſe perſons, whoſe conduct is ſo flagitious as to authorize any ſeverities they may meet with, are the moſt callous and inſenſible mortals breathing. Abuſe and vilify them ever ſo much, they only laugh in your face; they are endued with true chriſtian patience and reſignation; for if you ſmite them on one cheek, they turn to you the other alſo.

Dean Swift having written a very galling ſatire againſt the Earl of Wharton when he was Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, went the day after it was publiſhed to pay his compliments at Court. As ſoon as the Earl ſaw him, he took him aſide, and told him, " I hear, Doctor, that a pamphlet is juſt come " out that ſwinges me damnably: Egad, I'll be " even with the fellow; for I am determined *never* " *to read it.*" It is not unlikely but the SCOTCH FAVOURITE and his faction may treat theſe papers of mine in the ſame manner: If they do, I can heartily forgive them; for I am not vain enough to imagine, that any *gentle reproofs*, which are thrown out by ſo inconſiderable a perſon as myſelf, will work much reformation in their manners and principles. I ſhall be very well contented, if they ſerve to inſtruct and open the eyes of my fellow ſubjects, the generality of whom have been groſsly impoſed upon by inſinuations that the FAVOURITE is not concerned in adviſing the ſeveral changes in the miniſtry. Whereas it is notorious to every one, who is poſſeſſed of the leaſt penetration, that they are all the projects of his diſtempered brain—diſtempered with a variety of uneaſy paſſions, ſuch as pride, jealouſy, and revenge. It is ſome comfort, however, that his malice is weak and impotent; and one cannot help ſmiling to ſee what wretched tools he employs to work out his infamous purpoſes. It is ſomething remarkable, that he has not been able to prevail on one ſingle perſon of character and experience to co-operate with him. The poor creatures, whom he has *preſſed* into his ſervice, remind me of the ragamuffins headed by his nameſake in the rebellion, who were compoſed of raw, ignorant lads and decrepid old men. What makes it ſtill worſe is, that they are the very perſons who have always expreſſed the moſt virulent hatred to the FAVOURITE and his faction. They have catch'd at every opportunity of blackening his character, and have accuſtomed themſelves ſo long

to

to think and ſpeak of him in the vileſt manner, that I am perſuaded they are unable *now* to leave it off. They may, indeed, for a little time, juſt to ſerve their ambitious purpoſes, "keep their mouths, as "it were, with a bridle;" but while their hearts are ſo hot within them, the fire muſt inevitably kindle, and they will at laſt ſpeak with their tongues. In the mean time it will be no ſmall amuſement to us, who are only byeſtanders, to obſerve with what *awkward grace* they will implicitly obey the commands of the dictator; and how *unwillingly* they will *compliment* him with the diſpoſal of every place of truſt or profit. I am aware, indeed, that, as a *Chart Blanche* has been offered to them, they may imagine they are to come in *on their own terms*: But I will venture to prophecy, that they will find themſelves, in the end, very woefully miſtaken; for by what I know of the FAVOURITE, he never will part with his *his power*, which he has uniformly ſhewn, with amazing perſeverance, is the ſole dear *idol* of his ſoul.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Vulneris auxilium Pelias haſta tulit. OVID.

I HAVE already, in a former letter, mentioned the frequent changes that, to the eternal diſgrace of this country, have happened within the ſpace of five years, and the cauſe to which they are to be attributed. But as the ſole object of theſe letters is to open the eyes of the public, with regard to the ſacrifices both of men and meaſures, which have been owing to the influence of our MODERN SEJANUS; I hope I ſhall not be accuſed of tautology, if I dwell upon the ſame ſubject, and expatiate a little further on the events of that period. One of your late correſpondents ſeems to approve of my purpoſe, though he doubts of its effect, thinking it out of my power to ſhake the *Coloſſus*. His obſervation

vation is at firſt ſight well founded; but my friend *Philanglia* will alter his opinion, when he conſiders, that I have a moſt powerful aſſiſtant, in my attack upon this Gargantua; one who has overthrown a ſtill greater idol, the idol of a free people; who hitherto has never failed in any project that his paſſions of pride, revenge, or ambition, have engendered in his breaſt. After having ſaid this, it will be eaſy to conclude, that I mean the great giant himſelf. I ſincerely engage myſelf to omit nothing that my talents will allow me to do, to accompliſh the ſalutary end for which the whole nation ſo ardently wiſhes; but I fear my new ally will have more merit to plead in this overthrow than myſelf, having been at work upon it for ſome years; whereas my appearance in the political world is not of many days date. His abſurdities, contradictory conduct, and ignorance of the very rudiments of government, have brought ſuch a load of public reſentment againſt him, that there is little left for me to do; and I moſt ſincerely believe, that, without the ſpirit of prophecy, I may venture to declare *his final ruin is not now very diſtant.*

The wickedeſt Miniſters, the moſt contemptible and deteſted Favourites, that have diſgraced the reigns of our Britiſh Kings, have never been without their friends, or without having retained ſome party in their ſupport; but it has been reſerved to our days to ſee the prodigy of a minion veſted with unlimited authority, for a long time the diſpenſer of the choiceſt honours and pecuniary bounties of the Crown, and that in ſo liberal a manner as quickly to make the Crown poor in both; to ſee him, I ſay, reduced, by his own miſmanagement, to the ſingularly miſerable and forlorn ſtate of having neither party to eſpouſe, nor friend to protect him.

Uncommon as this phœnomenon is, it may be accounted for by recollecting that he has by turns

deceived

deceived and deſerted all parties, and ſets of men in this country, and is therefore equally diſavowed, deteſted, and deſerted by all.

Let us look a little back to the beginning of the period, alluded to in my former letter, what has been the conduct of this reſtleſs and inſidious adviſer. His firſt exploit, when his power was eſtabliſhed, appeared in the removal of Mr. Pitt, who had conducted the war with all the ſucceſs that was due to ſo great and enterpriſing a genius. This great man was obliged, by Scotch machinations and intrigue, to quit the helm; and the public loſt not only the ſupport of his abilities, but his ſpirited and and diſintereſted kinſman, the Earl of Temple, followed him in his retreat, reſolving, and, as we have lately ſeen, adhering to his reſolution, never to take a ſhare in the government while there remained the leaſt appearance of its being under the influence of a SCOTCH FAVOURITE. By this, two of the ableſt and beſt men in the kingdom, with all thoſe who were friends to them and their popular ſyſtem, were at once diſguſted, and commenced open and declared war with the *Coloſſus*. It is from this period that he began to act *againſt himſelf*, and lay the foundation of that fall, which it would be my happineſs to be able to accelerate.

It would have been natural to imagine, that when he had ſet ſo powerful a party at defiance, he would have ſtrengthened himſelf by forming connections with thoſe that remained; but this was by no means the caſe; another victim was immediately doomed a ſacrifice; an aged Duke (who, though his miniſterial talents were not eminent, had ſerved the Crown as well as he could, poor man, for upwards of forty years) was ignominiouſly driven from office. Nor was this ſufficient, but a whole hecatomb was to be ſacrificed at the altar of Scotch revenge and inſolence; and, what was hitherto unheard

heard of in this country, the lists of the inferior offices were carefully scrutinized, and numbers of worthy innocent men, who had no crime, but that their employments had been given them by the *discarded Duke*, were deprived of subsistence. I could draw the dismal picture of many reputable families, reduced by this Herodian act of cruelty to such penury and distress, as would shock the heart of the rudest Barbarian.

By these acts he had estranged from him another numerous party of men; and *then* he had no dependance, but on his own personal interest with the ****, and a few wretched adherents whom his ignorance of mankind made him imagine to be men of popularity. But he soon perceived his error; and so far did his timidity operate over his pride, that he hung his tail, and slunk out of office; protesting, at the same time, in the most solemn manner, that he would never again interfere in the business of government. How those engagements have been performed, the world is witness, as it is well known that they were scarcely made before they were shamefully broken.—Every one has heard of a treaty with Mr. Pitt in the year 1763, which was entirely brought upon the carpet by the FAVOURITE. This alone is sufficient to prove my assertion of his faithlessness and breach of promise. Happy would it have been for this nation if that treaty had succeeded; for if that excellent person had *then* taken the reigns of government, in all probability the power of that dangerous man had soon been blasted. But, unfortunately for us, he was reserved for future mischief; he was reserved when all was peace, when the wheels of government moved smoothly on, when Faction drooped her head, and party was almost no more, he was reserved to disturb, by his weak and wicked counsels, the public repose, and plunge the government

into

into difficulties, of which it is not eaſy to ſee the end.

Non ſemper ea ſunt, quæ videntur ; depipit
Frons prima multos ; rara mens in elligit.
Quod interiore condidit Cura angulo. PHÆD.

SIR,

IT is not from any apprehenſion that the word *Favourite*, though often repeated, will be tireſome to the public, as a late writer in one of the papers has ſuggeſted, that I have not addreſſed myſelf to you for ſome days paſt ; but I will fairly own, my ſilence aroſe from an apprehenſion, that the name and ſtile of *Anti-Sejanus* might pall the appetites of your readers, by being ſerved up too frequently. I cannot have ſo much vanity as to imagine, that from one ſingle topic I ſhall find reſources enough to diverſify the ſubject in ſuch a manner as to afford amuſement or inſtruction ſix days in the week : But for that reaſon do not let it be imagined, that you will loſe me for a correſpondent, as long as the *Giant* remains in poſſeſſion of the *ſmalleſt* degree of power. During that period, I have no cauſe to believe that the public will diſapprove of the repetition of the word *Favourite*, or be tired with my doctrine, which is calculated ſingly to that one purpoſe, of opening the eyes of the nation, as to the injuries they have ſuffered from the influence of that pernicious perſon. Believe me, they are not acquainted with half his crimes, with half his abſurdities : Some ſtill conſider him as all powerful ; others as an innocent, injured man, ſuffering for events that ought not to be laid to his charge ; and a few (though I believe they are very few indeed) ſtill take him for a man of talents, and an able ſtateſman. I flatter myſelf with imagining, that my former letters have not been altogether uſeleſs, in

undeceiving

undeceiving the world in ſome of theſe particulars: But much is ſtill left to be done; and if you do not think me tedious, nor find, by a diminution of the ſale of your paper, that I am thought ſo by the public, I ſhall perſevere in my undertaking, and now and then trouble you with a letter, till I have compleatd the great work, and reduced him to that abject ſtate which is ſuited to the meanneſs of his capacity, and the corruption of his heart.

Though my former letters may, perhaps, incline you to think that I am particularly connected with the late adminiſtration, and ſee their conduct with an eye of partiality, I do aſſure you that it is by no means the caſe. I am a friend to truth; and I mean no more than to diſabuſe the world, as to a few particular prejudices which they have imbibed againſt thoſe gentlemen. Let them be judged fairly; but do not arraign them for crimes which no perſon, who has any information, ſuſpects them to be guilty of. Such is the charge brought againſt them for having condeſcended to act under the influence of the *Favourite*; a charge to which they may boldly plead *not guilty*, without fearing conviction, though they were tried even by a Scotch jury. I have already touched upon this point; and I again throw down my gauntlet, and deſire to be contradicted, if what I aſſert is not true, "that during the whole courſe of their adminiſtration they have continually reſiſted the efforts of this ambitious and reſtleſs man; that they have been the firſt who gave any conſiderable and public blow to his power; and that the ſole cauſe of their diſgrace is the open teſtimony they gave of their reſolution not to act under his influence." In ſhort, it muſt be allowed, they have been ſtruggling with an antagoniſt at the top of a precipice; and though they have tumbled themſelves, they have carried him part of the way with them in their fall. This is all

I will

I will now ſay with regard to thoſe who have juſt left the helm: My point is to overcome *Sejanus*; and whether it is to be done by this or that ſet of men, is to me a matter of extreme indifference. I may, however, be allowed to give my opinion who are, and who are not, likely to effect that ſalutary purpoſe; and I am not fearful to ſay, that I do not think thoſe, who are now placed in the ſtations of the late diſcarded Miniſters, are the perſons on whom the nation called to reſcue them from the tyranny of the *Favourite*. Was the Duke of N— the popular miniſter that the nation cried aloud for? Was a perſon of higher rank than him, who (from reſpect I bear to every thing which he is by birth allied to) ſhall not be named in my writings; was *he*, I ſay, the Patriot, whom the landed gentlemen of property in this country look up to as their protector? Do they wiſh for an extenſion of the military power? Are the young unexperienced gentlemen, who are called in to ſupport the preſent fabric, ſuch as will pleaſe the *ſedate* and *thinking* part of mankind? I am determined not to be abuſive, becauſe I conſider abuſe as a low and illiberal engine; and having ſo good a cauſe to treat, I will not ſuffer the attention of the public to be drawn from my arguments, by their contempt and diſapprobation of my manners and language. For this reaſon, I will draw a veil over the private characters of thoſe individuals who have *now* the direction of this great machine; and only ſay, in general terms, that neither the monied men nor the country gentlemen, neither thoſe who conſider our connections with foreign powers, nor thoſe who attend to our interior eaſe and tranquility, will pretend that theſe are the perſons we looked up to with eyes of expectation and deſire. Had Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* been placed at the head of affairs, the nation would have been ſatisfied: They have ſhewed their abilities,

and

and we admire them: they have ſhewed their integrity, and we honour them: But when they are ſet aſide, and others employed, whoſe only recommendation is their experience, can there be a ſtronger demonſtration that a malignant *influence* ſtill prevails over our councils, and that the nation can never proſper in the preſent hands? To this I know it will be anſwered, that Mr. *Pitt* approves the ſyſtem, and wiſhes it well; that he will aſſiſt them with his advice, and that *his* meaſures will be purſued; but let thoſe, who will, believe ſuch ridiculous aſſertions: *Anti-Sejanus* is not to be duped with language, that would not make an impreſſion upon a ſenſible child of ten years old. Mr. *Pitt* withdrew from the adminiſtration, of which he was a member, becauſe he could not guide their counſels; he declines taking a part in this, for the ſame reaſon. It is plain to perceive for what purpoſe theſe *new gentlemen* pretend the contrary: Driven, poor ſouls, to their laſt ſhift, they catch at every ſhadow, and endeavour to impoſe upon the public *appearance* for *reality*: They mean to magnify their importance by ſtrutting in ſtilts; and, like the fooliſh daw in the fable, would fain cover their own nakedneſs with the plumage of a peacock. While I ſmile at the little artifices they make uſe of, I cannot helf pitying the poverty of their invention: The removal of a few individuals, who have *formerly* been connected with the *Favourite*, (while a hundred of his *creatures* ſtill remain *unmoleſted* in offiee) is to make mankind believe that they are not his tools and inſtruments; and a dignity or an employment, conferred on a friend or two of the Great Commoner, is to convince the world that he approves, at preſent, both of men and meaſures. But *credat Judæus!*—till he gives the teſtimony of his approbation, by ſupporting them in parliament, and aſſiſting in perſon at the ſecret councils, that decide about the weighty

affairs

affairs of the ſtate; till the *Favourite* is baniſhed to a long, long diſtance from Court, and thoſe who are *able*, not thoſe *only* who are *willing* to ſerve the crown, are entruſted with offices of buſineſs and reſponſibility; I ſhall think Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* diſſatisfied with the general ſituation of things; and that they lament, with me, the hopeleſs ſtate to which this unhappy kingdom is reduced, and from which it will never extricate itſelf, till the laſt dregs of that curſed poiſon, the power of the *Favourite*, are drained off, and the direction of affairs entruſted with thoſe miniſters who are called upon by the joint voice of the people to afford us their aſſiſtance and protection. ANTI-SEJANUS.

——*Pugnat Sententia ſecum*
Quod petiit ſpernit, repetit quid nuper omiſit. HOR.

AS I have been rather liberal in my epithets, whenever I have mentioned the name of *Sejanus*, having ventured more than once to make uſe of the words *abſurd*, *ambitious*, and *revengeful*, it ſeems particularly incumbent upon me to ſhew that they have not been miſapplied. And this is ſo eaſy a taſk, that it requires little more than a bare narrative to prove that I have not been miſled by paſſion, or warped with prejudice, when I have expreſſed myſelf in thoſe terms.

There is another particular, in which, perhaps, it may be expected that I ſhould vindicate myſelf, namely, in affirming that the power of the Coloſſus is ſhaken to its very foundation: and this likewiſe (Heaven be praiſed) is no very difficult matter; for I verily believe that, if I continue much longer your correſpondent, it will be objected to me, that I am trampling on the dead, and inſulting the memory of a conquered and fallen enemy.

To illuſtrate theſe points in the fulleſt manner, it will not be neceſſary for me to go farther back

than to the changes that have lately happened in the adminiſtration. Six weeks thorough knowledge of the meaſures of *Sejanus* will be ſufficient to prove his abſurdity and wickedneſs; and when theſe are once made out, they will not only juſtify my having made uſe of expreſſions rather harſh and ſevere, but convince the world that his reign is almoſt over, and his ruin at hand. When he ſaw the late miniſtry riſing in the eſteem of the public, he concluded, with reaſon, that the ſame conduct, which gained them the good opinion of the thinking part of the nation, would not fail to recommend them to their virtuous and well-diſpoſed maſter. This at once alarmed his jealouſy, and determined him, by ſecret emiſſaries and falſe inſinuations, to preclude them from a free acceſs to their Sovereign. His wicked project unhappily ſucceeded; and when he found that he had blaſted the power of his rivals, ambition ſeized upon his ſoul. He reſolved immediately to form a new adminiſtration; an adminiſtration, that ſhould never thwart or oppoſe him; an adminiſtration of his own creatures and dependents. His brother was to have the direction of Scotland, and his *brother-in-law* to be placed at the head of the finances, and be principal miniſter of ſtate. What made this plan of his more ridiculous and chimerical, was, that he imagined our *Patriot Commoner* would condeſcend to act under his influence, and that of his tools and creatures: But he found himſelf miſerably miſtaken; his fooliſh ſcheme was accordingly exploded, and the diſcarded miniſters were recalled, who immediately diſmiſſed the inſtrument of *Sejanus*'s power over his native country. This, it muſt be owned, was a glorious, but at the ſame time it was the laſt blow they could make at the *Favourite*. He was exaſperated to the greateſt degree, and all the ſulphur of his ſoul took fire: His revenge, at all events,

muſt

muſt be gratified, and a new ſet of people called in; yet even here a difficulty remained behind; though he was determined to work the fall of his enemies, he could not bear to drop the dear idea of eſtabling a *family influence*. Some medium, therefore, was to be propoſed; and his noble kinſman, (who, from reading the groſs flattery, *which he pays for*, in the public papers, fondly thinks himſelf a man of popularity) though not the principal miniſter, was ſtill to bear ſome high office in the ſtate, and his brother to be reſtored at leaſt to the income of his former ſtation. This *ſecond* project, however, miſcarried; for after having tried every man of rank in the kingdom, after the Treaſury had been *refuſed by four different perſons in one day*, he was reduced to lower his demands, and with them give up a farther portion of his ſtrength and influence.

He dropt at laſt, unwillingly indeed, his darling ſcheme of governing, by means of a family compact; and, to gratify his revenge and quiet his fears, (which painted to him the fatal conſequences that might happen from the reſentment of the nation, if he perſiſted in his ambitious purpoſes) he ſet on foot a freſh negociation.

Who can forbear lamenting with me, that the credit, the repoſe, the proſperity of the kingdom, are to be thus frequently and wantonly ſacrificed to the private paſſions of this reſtleſs and all-graſping *Favourite?*

No one, I imagine, will pretend to deny, that I have here given a true hiſtory of what has lately happened in the adminiſtration. Three different plans have been agitated; and the laſt of them would not have taken place, if the gentlemen, who were lately in power, would have demeaned themſelves ſo low as to negociate with the Scotchman. He never, I believe, *much* wiſhed to carry it into execution: He

would rather have chofen, that the two fets of men fhould have bid againft each other for his protection; and then would have inclined the fcale in favour of that party, who would have done the moft to repair his fhattered power. He has failed in this, as in all his former projects; for though the auction was opened, and the places fairly put up, he could get no fetters to enhance the price, and *but one bidder* appeared!

The conſequence of the whole is, that a miniſtry is formed without one man of buſineſs and experience. It ſets out with pretenſions to popularity, and yet is headed by the D. of ——, the Duke of N——, and the Earl of B—. It claims the name of a *Whig adminiſtration*, with a Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, the only Tory who has been truſted with any office of power or buſineſs ſince the beginning of his Majeſty's reign. In ſhort, it is compoſed of weakneſs, falſhood, and contradiction, and is a perfect model of the great original that gave it birth.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

——TRES *ſunt ante omnia.*——

WHEN Octavius, Mark Antony, and Lepidus, formed that ill-connected triumvirate, which put a final period to the liberties of Rome, they ſhewed a wonderful tenderneſs for each other, not in *ſecuring their friends*, but in *ſacrificing their enemies* to their mutual reſentment. In this general proſcription, the ties of blood were alternately diſregarded, and the more ſacred bonds of friendſhip readily broken through, provided it tended, upon the whole, to gratify the hatred and revenge of thoſe deſtroyers of the public freedom. The leaders of the preſent unnatural coalition of men in power ſeem to have adopted the ſame principles, as far as circumſtances will admit; not, indeed, by ſticking

up

tip the heads of the men of eloquence and ability, among their adverſaries, at the bar of the two houſes, (which, however, I would adviſe them to effect, *if they can*, before the meeting of parliament) but by removing all perſons from employment who have the moſt diſtant connection with thoſe whom they ſtile their enemies.

In this point, the enterprizing Antonius, the doating Lepidus, and the timid Octavius, ſeem perfectly agreed. There is, however, this manifeſt inequality, as to Octavius's ſhare in this extenſive proſcription, that *he* is obliged to ſacrifice ſome of his friends, in order to preſerve the others; whilſt his aſſociates in power give a full ſweep to their revenge, by marking out as victims whoever were honoured with the friendſhip, or bore relation by office to thoſe whoſe places have been lately uſurped by a motley band of mock-ſtateſmen. I call it uſurped, becauſe, though the ——— has an undoubted right to diſpoſe of theſe employments, nature and reaſon never intended them for ſuch as the preſent poſſeſſors.

If the public cannot diſpute the authority, by which men of ability and experience are removed, to make way for thoſe who have ſhewn themſelves deficient in the one, or who cannot lay any claim to the other, yet ſurely they have a right to enquire why thoſe, who are ſubordinate in offices of the utmoſt truſt and importance, ſhould be wantonly laid aſide, only becauſe the Triumvirate will have it ſo.

That the whole board of Treaſury ſhould be changed, is an act of neceſſity; becauſe thoſe, who had been joined with the gentleman, who laſt preſided there, could never be brought to ſubmit to his inadequate ſucceſſors: But that the two Secretaries of that department ſhould be diſmiſſed, the one becauſe he has been faithful to his late ſuperior, and the other becauſe it is a neceſſary ſtep to

impoſe upon the public, I cannot admit as ſatisfactory reaſoning. Beſides, can this impoſition operate for any long continuance? The latter of theſe gentlemen, formerly the confidential Secretary of Octavius, could not be continued without an open declaration of what the Triumvirate labours ſo much to conceal. For the ſame reaſon, this timid Stateſman acquieſces in his brother's diſgrace; and allows his former partner in the Treaſury to be thrown out of the wardrobe like a caſt-off ſuit of cloaths. But will this ſubterfuge impoſe upon men of experience and knowledge of the world? Will *they* ſubmit to dignify this adminiſtration with the title of Whig, and Anti-Favourite, whilſt Mr. D—— is ſingled out to lead one band of penſioners, and the E— of L——— ſtill ſtands at the head of the other? whilſt T——— continues in poſſeſſion of his ſtaff, and O———d and E———tt quietly enjoy their lucrative employments? For what merit of their own is this indulgence ſhewn to the two laſt? Not upon account of their abilities, for that would be a ſufficient reaſon why they ſhould be diſcarded: It is their *merit with their countryman*; it is the reward of their inaction during the laſt parliamentary campaign, where the one carefully concealed his talent *wrapt up in a napkin*, and the other uſed his ſparingly, as loath to wear it out in any other cauſe than that of the *Favourite?*

I forbear to mention others, as too inconſiderable to be named in the liſt: It is ſufficient to ſay that thoſe ſnarlers in politics, who followed the *Favourite* in couples, are ſtill retained to fill up the cry, and are ſtill fed from the trencher.

Whilſt ſuch juggling is carrying on, and that too in ſo bungling a manner, will any perſon dare to aſſert, that the *Favourite* has *no* hand in theſe tranſactions, and that Mr. PITT has *any?* Will he lend his ſupport to eſtabliſh thoſe men in power, whom

Volpone

Volpone approves, and has promiſed to ſecond? Will the *Great Commoner*, whoſe name is to fill ſo many ſhining pages in hiſtory, ſuffer it to be ſullied by an intercourſe with ſuch men as theſe? Will *his* ſuperior ſpirit ſubmit to imitate the daſtardly *Favourite*, by keeping clear of all reſponſibility, and yet aſpiring to direct? Or, if his ill ſtate of health will not permit him to ſupport the fatigue of office, and he ſhould be prevailed on to guide the machine, would he truſt to untempered tools of *other peoples' providing*.

We have ſeen, indeed, inſtances where a great genius, who is ſure of his effect, will produce wonders of art with almoſt any tool that comes to hand; but there never was that man who would riſk his reputation by preferring ſuch inſtruments as ſhould be brought by the loweſt in the trade, when he had the whole profeſſion before him, and might ſupply himſelf from the ableſt and moſt experienced artiſts.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

SEE here the hopeful ſtate in which this country is repreſented by the writers for the preſent Miniſtry; who tell us, that the beſt thing which could at preſent happen, would be for them all to be immediately turned out of their employments, and ſucceeded by Mr. Pitt, and thoſe whom he thinks of principal ability, and fitteſt to be employed. In this opinion I agree with them heartily; but I am of a different way of thinking from their flatterers, who give it out that Mr. Pitt believes the doating Stateſman and his aſſociates qualified for any employments; whereas I am humbly of opinion, that he thinks them fit for none; for if he did not, would he thus, in their preſent ſtate of weakneſs and diſtreſs, turn his back upon them, and fairly leave them to ſhuffle and cut for themſelves? . . . Would he not rather, out of pure compaſſion, reach out a

helping hand, when they call upon him, poor ſouls, with their chins juſt above water, and aſſure him that they can ſwim no more than ſo many pigs of lead? But they cry, alas, in vain! the love of his country prevails in his breaſt far beyond the feelings of pity, or any other conſideration: He knows the kingdom is undone under ſuch management—he abandons them to their fate, and turns away his face from the melancholy ſight, juſt as we do from the execution of a malefactor, without attempting to give him aſſiſtance.

What I am now ſaying is too clearly manifeſted, by Mr. Pitt's retiring from the preſent ſcene of buſineſs, when the new Miniſters ſtand in the greateſt need of his counſels, and have ridiculouſly given it out for a month together, that he would ſupport their meaſures. This ſtep of the great and truly amiable Patriot will ſurely open the eyes of the public, and convince them that theſe vain and empty daws *reckoned without their hoſt*. There remains, however, another point, ſtill to be cleared up, before we entirely give the new gentlemen over to perdition. I profeſs myſelf an admirer of Mr. Pitt, and I heartily wiſh that he and Lord Temple, with ſome other noble perſons, who have refuſed to accept even of the higheſt offices, becauſe thoſe great men would not be concerned in the preſent ſyſtem; I wiſh, I ſay, that they could be induced to alter their reſolution in this particular. But though there are no hopes of ſuch a change, the new Miniſtry will deſerve much of the public eſteem, if they would effectually and entirely put an end to the influence of the *Favourite*. But they themſelves are too well conſcious, that it is out of their power: I really believe ſome of the *young and unexperienced* perſons among them mean to do it: But none of their leaders think it practicable, or even intend to attempt it. Let me aſk them fairly,

whether

whether, when the late convulſions began, the great point of miſmanagement, laid to the charge of the old Miniſters, was not not their puſhing things too far, by the removal of *Sejanus*'s brother? And how could the new ones mean to eſtabliſh their power, but by a contrary conduct? The *Favourite*, they ſay, does not take the lead in the preſent moment; perhaps not, but what then? Does he not intend to reſume it, after he has let the new Miniſtry take a ſhort run? He knows that the taſte of power is very alluring; and therefore, like an expert angler, lets them nibble and run away with the bait, that he may ſtrike at a proper time, and make ſure of his game. If this is not the caſe, and he really intends to lay down his rod, why does not he gratify the public with every demonſtration of his honeſt and upright purpoſes? Why does not he retire, in earneſt, to a diſtance from buſineſs, and abſtain not only from evil, but from all its appearances and temptations? Look only into certain aſſemblies, and you will find that the perſons there, who are moſt willing and moſt able to ſupport him, ſtill remain unmoleſted in their offices. What is it, in the name of wonder, that protects them? Where do they find a ſhield to cover them from the preſent havock and devaſtation? Is it their attachment to the gentlemen who are now Miniſters? No, there is no one, who has the leaſt knowledge of men and things, that does not ſee they would diſplace them if they could, both becauſe they cannot truſt them, and becauſe it would give their adminiſtration ſuch a weight and credit in the nation, as would render them ſuperior to every attempt of their opponents to overthrow them. Self-intereſt calls upon them loudly to give theſe proofs of their being no longer encumbered with the load of *favouritiſm*; and common-ſenſe calls upon us all not to ſuffer ourſelves to be amuſed any longer with vain and idle ſuppoſitions,

fitions, which are calculated merely to gain time, and give a month or two more to the new Triumvirate to reward ſome of their hungry followers, and to diſpoſe of the higheſt honours to their favourites, of which, by the nature of thoſe honours, they cannot be hereafter diveſted. ANTI-SEJANUS.

IT is a curſe, which has attended all *favourites of Princes*, from the darling of Tiberius down to our *modern Sejanus*, that they are never happy, unleſs they are wantonly abuſing their extravagant power, or oſtentatiouſly diſplaying their enormous riches. They cannot poſſeſs either the one or the other in quiet, but muſt needs affront the ſelf-love and underſtanding of mankind, by a vain and unreaſonable exerciſe of both. There is no other way of accounting for ſuch abſurd behaviour, which muſt neceſſarily ſubject them to the hatred and envy of the world, than from a mixture of pride, folly and infatuation. While a man battens and baſks himſelf in Royal favour, he is ſure to be attended with a numerous train of ſummer-friends, who flutter and buzz about him inceſſantly, and are ſuch troubleſome and impertinent creatures, that they effectually keep off every honeſt and ingenious perſon. Having thus entirely poſſeſſed him to themſelves, the poiſon that they diſtill into his ear, is ten times more fatal and noxious than that which deſtroyed the *Royal Dane*, as it corrupts the underſtanding, and ſtupifies all the nobler faculties of the ſoul. Its operation, indeed, is mighty and wonderful, as it transforms a man almoſt in an inſtant from his original ſelf. Though his intrinſic worth was before poor and inſignificant, he acquires I know not what of importance; and having the image of his Prince imprinted, as it were, upon him, endeavours to paſs current in the world for ten times his real value. To accompliſh this moſt deſirable end, he finds

finds it neceſſary to bear down *ſome* with irreſiſtible inſolence, and dazzle the eyes of *others* with the glare of honour and tinſel trappings of greatneſs.

If we conſider a little the behaviour of different Favourites in different ages and countries, we ſhall find that their conduct in theſe reſpects has been uniformly the ſame. With what ſelf-aſſuming arrogance did *Wolſey* behave, and ſecure of the ear of his Prince, treat the oldeſt and moſt potent of the nobility with contempt and inſolence? Surrounded by ſycophants, he kept aloof from others, like an Eaſtern monarch, and would not deign to hold converſe with the moſt illuſtrious perſons, unleſs they truckled to his power, and bowed the knee to Baal. What a rapid and exorbitant fortune did he amaſs together, though he lived with all the ſtate and magnificence of an Emperor? How many palaces did he erect, as trophies of his folly, and proofs of his rapine and extortion? How many country ſeats did he adorn and furniſh with all the curioſities of art and nature? What a train of glittering equipages, what a hoſt of livery'd ſlaves attended him in his tours? One thing, however, may be remarked of Wolſey, which cannot be ſaid of a *more modern Favourite*, that he had *viſible means* of acquiring his riches and ſupporting his grandeur; as, beſides the office of Lord High Chancellor, he was poſſeſſed at once of five biſhopricks, and ſeveral other profitable benefices.

What has been here related of the great overgrown Cardinal, may be applied with little alteration to all other Royal favourites; whether it be Sejanus, the darling of Tiberius, or Count Bruhl, the minion of the late Elector of Saxony; ſome particulars of whoſe life and conduct I may very probably hereafter lay before my readers: At preſent it is not neceſſary to have recourſe either to ſtale or foreign examples, when we have a *Sejanus of our*

own

own, who is a living inſtance of the truth of what has been here aſſerted. Has he not all along affected to keep aloof, and treated our nobles with ſupercilious reſerve and inſolence? Have we not ſeen him for a long time diſplaying his exorbitant treaſures in every kind of princely profuſion? Has not he purchaſed eſtates, built and adorned villas, erected palaces, and furniſhed them with ſumptuous magnificence? I am ſure I ſpeak within compaſs, when I aſſert, that within theſe laſt three years he has expended between *two and three hundred thouſand pounds*. An enormous ſum, equal almoſt to the whole revenues of the kingdom from which he draws his original! I could wiſh to be informed by ſome of thoſe, who are in the ſecret, how he has acquired ſuch prodigious wealth. I will not ſuppoſe that he *embezzled the public money*, when he officiouſly thruſt himſelf into office; becauſe there were ſo many checks upon him in that department, that he could not eaſily have done it without aſſociates, or poſſeſſing more courage or cunning than I take him to be maſter of. But how, then, has he acquired ſuch amazing riches? Tell me, ye flatterers of his, was it by *ſtate-jobbing* or ſtock-jobbing, that he is become, from a needy Northern Thane, a potent Britiſh Noble? What ſiniſter method has he taken to plunder the nation, and eſcape the iron hand of juſtice? I am aware of the anſwer, that he has been able to make a purchaſe, to the amount of ninety-ſeven thouſand pounds, to lay out a large park, and adorn and build two magnificent houſes out of the eſtate which was left him by a relation three years ago. But ſuch a reply is ſo falſe and fooliſh, that it ſcarce deſerves a moment's conſideration; for I will venture to maintain, that the whole ſum of his *viſible* income, for the laſt *ten years* put together, will not amount to above 50,000l. As to the eſtate, it is not *his*; he

is

is entitled only to part of the annual produce; for two thouſand pounds a year were left to his injured brother, on whom he *affectionately turned his back*, as ſoon as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of his natural inheritance. When this 2000l. per annum is deducted, there will not remain *clear to the Favourite* above 5000l. a year: And whether this is ſufficient to account for all thoſe immenſe ſums, which, to our amazement and indignation, he has lately expended, I leave every impartial perſon to judge.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

[The above letter occaſioned a very ſingular and extraordinary diſpute in the public papers. One of the E. of Bute's friends immediately anſwered it as follows.]

THE public may recollect, if they think it worth while, that *Anti-Sejanus* did, in his paper of Auguſt 3, endeavour to faſten upon the Earl of Bute's reputation a ſtain of the foulеſt corruption; no leſs than that of having plundered the public of an immenſe treaſure: grounding this his concluſion upon the greatneſs of the Favourite's expences within three years paſt beyond his income, taken even for ſo long a period as ten years backwards. I have ſhewn in my laſt letter what credit the writer's aſſertion deſerves with regard to the head of income, and will now proceed to the other half of his argument, relative to the Favourite's expences within three years paſt; reckoned by the writer at between two and three hundred thouſand pounds, *i. e.* as I muſt underſtand it at about 250,000l. Theſe expences he divides into four heads, viz. 1. The purchaſing of eſtates. 2. The building and adorning of villas. 3. The erecting of palaces and furniſhing them with ſumptuous magnificence. 4. A general ſweeping item of every kind of princely profuſion. The purchaſing of eſtates he reckons at ninety-ſeven thouſand pounds;

ſo

ſo that there is a ſum of about one hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds left for the reſt of the Favourite's expenditure in three years time, being at the rate of fifty-one thouſand pounds per annum. How much the writer is pleaſed to allot to every kind of princely profuſion he hath not been ſo good as to impart; but it is manifeſt, by the affected pomp of his deſcription, that the villas and palaces are to be conſidered as conſuming a large part of that vaſt heap. So that theſe two articles are eſſential circumſtances to the validity of his eſtimate. I love to catch one of theſe declaimers at a matter of fact, of which any common man hath an opportunity to know the truth or falſhood. The only villa that the Earl of Bute hath had within the compaſs of three years, is a ſmall old houſe upon Kew green, with a new detached brick building on one ſide of the garden uſed by him in part for a library, and in part occupied by an under ſervant of the Royal Family. Theſe two ſtructures compoſe the villas which the Favourite is ſuppoſed to have built and adorned at vaſt expence. Let any reader go to Kew-green, and he will, upon enquiry, find one of the villas built before *Sejanus* was born, and the other not more magnificent in the building or fitting up than what might ſuit the Sunday's retreat of a ſubſtantial citizen. I might ſay the ſame of the furniture, except, perhaps, that two or three moderate rooms of books are more than a freeman of the grocer's or fiſhmonger's companies might want for his own and his wife's amuſement. Then for the palaces he hath erected, let not the reader imagine, that the word *palaces* is put in the plural number for the ſake of gracing a period with a rhetorical flouriſh; no, it is deſigned in ſober fraud. For the writer repeats his tale, ſaying, in another place of the ſame letter, that the Favourite has laid out a large park, and adorned and built two magnifi-

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cent houſes, by which we are to underſtand one town-houſe in Berkley-ſquare, and one country-houſe near Luton in Bedfordſhire. Now I prithee, gentle reader, take a walk into Berkley-ſquare, and there thou wilt ſee an edifice which will be noble indeed when finiſhed; but at preſent ſo far from built and *furniſhed with ſumptuous magnificence*, that it is not yet covered with a roof; and ſince Luton lies too far off for a walk, or even for a ride of ſimple curioſity, be pleaſed to aſk of any body who hath happened to ſee the Favourite's palace in that neighbourhood, and you will learn authentically that he hath neither added to nor taken from the houſe which his predeceſſor left upon the premiſes; and this is the true hiſtory both of the villas which the Wolſey of George III. hath built and adorned, and of the palaces he hath erected and furniſhed with ſumptuous magnificence; and from whence, as one main ingredient, it is argued that he muſt, of neceſſity, have plundered the nation: An hiſtory rather too long, except for the ſake of the inference, which is plain and pregnant. *Anti-Sejanus* being thus detected in materially falſifying the things that I have ſeen, how ſhall I believe him in the things that I have not ſeen? In affirming that the *Favourite* contrived the removal of Mr. Pitt from the King's councils, the diſmiſſion of the late miniſtry, the private direction of all public affairs, the appointment of the new adminiſtration, tranſactions of a ſecret, as well as complicated nature? How ſhall I truſt him as to any vice, folly, or indiſcretion, which this writer has aſcribed, or ſhall aſcribe to the *Favourite*, where the queſtion turns at all upon the matter of fact?

As to the writer's perſon, I ſhall uſe no hard words, chuſing to leave theſe to your readers, and the man himſelf to the caſtigation of his own melancholy thoughts. But as to his ill-choſen contumely,

tumely, I muſt beg leave to add, that if there be a gentleman in the King's dominions of a liberal, diſintereſted, uncorrupt heart, above all unbecoming regards to money, in my conſcience it is the vilified *Favourite*. So ſlender a ſecurity is the poſſeſſion of any good quality againſt the calumnies of party-enmity.

Doth not *Anti-Sejanus* conſider how eaſy a taſk it would be to prefer a croſs bill of indictment for corruption againſt ſome of his friends, with more effect than he hath began the proſecution? Does he not ſee how readily his own miſcarried arrow might be returned upon one of his party-favourites? Does he not know that the blaſt of a like obloquy hath already bruſhed a character which he pretends to reſpect? Is he ignorant that a ſlander once ſown needs little cultivation to make it thrive, produce and multiply, and that any ſtory ſo faſhioned as to countenance the whiſper alluded to, would meet with greedy attention from minds prediſpoſed to that ſuſpicion? This is an advantage ſuch as *Anti-Sejanus* wanted againſt the Earl of Bute. For no whiſper of malice, none at leaſt that ever reached my ear, did ever give preparation to ſuch an abominable aſperſion of his character as this writer hath committed to a public news-paper. But as I diſbelieve and reject the detraction of rumour in the caſe above referred to, becauſe unſupported by proof, therefore neither the example of this injudicious advocate, nor the provocation of a more plauſible ſlander than any of this writer's production, ſhall ſeduce or drive me to propagate an injurious and diſhonouring report, which my own mind does not tell me is true. If I acted otherwiſe, I ſhould think I committed a crime no more pardonable than his is, who, truſting to the hopes of concealment, mixes poiſon in his neighbour's food. J. J.

Among

AMONG the wonders that theſe laſt weeks have produced, one of the greateſt is, that any author ſhould be found ſo fooliſh and deſperate as to write in favour of the Earl of Bute; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, chuſe his private life and character as the objects of their adulation. We were told ſome circumſtances, relative to his profuſion, by that ſenſible and ſpirited writer *Anti-Sejanus*; but as he profeſſes his reſolution never to engage in any controverſy, I ſuppoſe he will take no notice of thoſe falſhoods that have been buzzed about by the very injudicious friends of the *Favourite*; I ſhall therefore take this taſk upon myſelf.

One of the Favourite's advocates tells us, that the Earl of Bute is a very good friend to his brother-in-law, Mr. Mackenzie, and has not treated him with inhumanity. The truth of this gentleman's caſe will ſurely ſufficiently diſprove this bold aſſertion. He has honeſtly given up above half his annuity, to be divided among his creditors, and is now ſtarving in the remoteſt part of the Eaſt. An office under the government which his abilities would have enabled him to have filled with credit, was his earneſt deſire: He aſked it of the *Favourite*, when he was all-powerful; but he turned his back upon him, and left him to the wide world to ſhift for himſelf, and ſtruggle with every diſtreſs, and all the variety of wretchedneſs that human nature could poſſibly experience.

I will now tell *Anti-Sejanus*, that notwithſtanding his ſeeming ſagacity, he is not ſufficiently inſtructed, as to the vanity and profuſion of *Sejanus*. He is not acquainted with all the immenſe ſums of money, that he has laviſhly expended, without any *viſible means* of their coming into his coffers. As to the eſtate that his family will inherit in prejudice to

the unhappy Mr. Mackenzie, I am poſitive he has not coffered a ſhilling from it; for he has laid out more than the annual income of it, ſince it was in the poſſeſſion of his Lady, in purchaſing mines that belong to the truſt eſtate itſelf. Beſides which, he has indulged a ridiculous paſſion for *Virtu*, in the moſt oſtentatious and extravagant degree, and heaped together God knows how many *thouſand inſtances* of his falſe taſte and infatuation. Not a ſcarce book or manuſcript could come in his way (though he was utterly ignorant of the characters in which it was written) but he purchaſed it at a moſt exorbitant price, and the very *binding together* of his *prints* and *drawings* amounted (if I am not miſinformed) to the *amazing ſum* of *fifteen hundred pounds*.

PHILANGLIA.

THOUGH it would be well for Mr. J. J.'s patron if he would pleaſe to forget both what Anti-Sejanus has told the public, and every thing which he has ſaid in vindication of the Favourite: yet, as he will not, let him take what follows; it is the fruit of his writer's own doing; for I appeal to the candid part of mankind, which ſide began firſt of all their inveſtigation of *private characters*; and whether theſe controverſies do not owe their riſe to the attempts made by the Sejanian party to draw our attention from their principal as a miniſter, in order that we might conſider him in another capacity, in which I imagine their prejudices led them to think him leſs blameable. It is, therefore, a ſufficient anſwer to the panegyrics that have been beſtowed on this obnoxious perſon, that the friends of truth have thought it their duty to diſabuſe mankind; and his friends muſt blame themſelves if they have already heard more than they expected on this ſubject, or if they hear any thing

thing further from me, or any of thoſe with whom I am connected.

Though I heartily deſpiſe abuſe and ſcurrility, as the vile ſpawn of low and illiberal minds, yet I am not of ſo milky a diſpoſition as to ſuffer it to operate, without any antidote, againſt thoſe whoſe characters I admire: Beſides, I am too much a friend to the public to ſuffer them to be impoſed upon by falſe colours, held out to their humanity, in order that it may operate againſt their reaſon.

Mr. J. J. ſeems to controvert the information which has been given us by *Anti-Sejanus* of the vaſt expences incurred by his idol in the ſpace of three or four years, ſo infinitely beyond his viſible income. He may have convinced himſelf, perhaps, that this charge is not well grounded; but I am firmly perſuaded, that he has not drawn in one ſingle perſon beſides to be of his opinion. The purchaſe which was made by the Favourite, in a neighbouring county, amounted to 97,000l. and he has made great and conſiderable alterations there, to the amount of a large ſum of money. This firſt expence *alone* is *twice* as much as is *apparent*. Receipt has been for ten years back; and as he has been a kind and tender father, (for I am glad to allow him every degree of merit he is entitled to) it is to be ſuppoſed that the education of his numerous family has taken off, at leaſt, the income of his northern iſland, which Mr. J. J. ſays was not brought to account. As to the villa near London, we are told, it is only fit for the reception of a grocer's wife; and yet I believe he will find a moſt aſtoniſhing expence incurred there in books, *prints*, pictures, and virtu of every kind. The palace that is now riſing to the ſkies, and fills the end of one of the principal ſquares in this metropolis, has not, with the purchaſe of the land, coſt much leſs than 20,000l. I am ſorry to find that

Mr. J. J. is ſo unfair an advocate as to forget the mines which have been purchaſed by the Favourite from the Truſt eſtate; I muſt therefore beg that he will inform himſelf, againſt his next refutation of *Anti-Sejanus*'s aſſertions, what that purchaſe amounted to. For as I have not any knowledge of the truſtees myſelf, and Mr. J. J. ſeems to intimate that he has, we ſhall both of us be more accurate in our future correſpondence upon this point. Till he ſets me right I own I cannot ſay, with preciſion, whether it was 20,000l. 40,000l. or 60,000l. though I believe it was nearer the greater than the ſmaller ſums. There are two other articles, which Mr. J. J. entirely paſſes over; a great houſe and coſtly furniture in London, which, joined to the current expences neceſſarily incurred by a nobleman at the head of affairs in this opulent and luxurious country, will, I believe, fully account for the 250,000l. which *Anti-Sejanus* has ſuppoſed to have been expended by the Favourite, in the courſe of three or four years.

As to the other article, which is his cruel and unparalled treatment of the poor diſappointed heir, whoſe inheritance he poſſeſſes, I will inform Mr. J. J. that I have ſeen a letter, not many months old, from that unhappy gentleman who is at this preſent time ſtarving in a remote part of the Eaſt, a letter which would move the moſt flinty boſom to compaſſionate his unfortunate ſituation, in want of the common neceſſaries of life, and under the deepeſt and blackeſt of all horrors, the dread of leaving ſeveral unhappy children to ſtruggle in the wide world with hunger and thirſt, cold and nakedneſs.

Mr. J. J. mentions a croſs bill, which he tells us may be brought againſt ſome of the friends of *Anti-Sejanus*. In the name of juſtice, let it be preferred: I know their innocence, their integrity;

if

if there is the leaſt ſuſpicion of their guilt, let them be brought to their trial; they have nothing dark or myſterious about them; they live in the light, and love it. So far from being found guilty of corruption, I am confident, that the more their conduct is examined, the whiter their characters will appear. Let them be ſifted, and *bolted to the bran*; and it will then be found, that of all the infamous falſhoods that were ever urged againſt any ſet of men, none could be more void of foundation than that any of the late Miniſters ever increaſed their private fortunes by baſe and indirect practices, or received the value of a ſingle ſhilling for the diſpoſal of any favours of the Crown during the many years in which moſt of them had opportunities of recommending perſons to employments in almoſt every department of the ſtate.

Aug. 30. PHILANGLIA.

P. S. Since this letter was written, I have ſeen another anſwer from Mr. J. J. in yeſterday's paper, who affirms, that the income of the eſtate which was bequeathed to the Favourite by Mr. W——, is ſufficient to account for all the expences that he has incurred. This is an abſolute impoſſibility; for I here repeat it again, that *Sejanus* does not receive from that bequeſt above 5000l. per annum *clear*. As to the expreſſion of *ſtate-jobbing*, Mr. J. J. is too good a writer himſelf not to perceive that *Anti-Sejanus* is very little likely to be *guilty of nonſenſe*. For my own part, the word appears to me to be very expreſſive; but if Mr. J. J. really does not know the meaning of it, I would adviſe him, by all means, to aſk his patron, who, I will venture to ſay, underſtands the word as well as any in the Engliſh language.

HAVING endeavoured in a former letter to ſhew, that the computations publiſhed by *Anti-Sejanus* of the *Favourite*'s income and out-goings, whereby he charges that nobleman with having plundered the public, are, as to the firſt point of income, arbitrarily taken up at random, or invented for the occaſion; and as to the ſecond point of out-goings, abſolutely falſe and contradictory to indiſputable facts, which are within the reach of any man's knowledge; I ſhall now perform the promiſe of my laſt letter, to conſider the charge of peculation againſt the *Favourite*, independently of ſuch matters as the writer thought fit to aſſign for his reaſon, and to anſwer the accuſation with materials furniſhed by the accuſer.

The *Favourite* hath been in three offices under the Crown; thoſe of groom of the ſtole, ſecretary of ſtate, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. A ſecretary of ſtate in this country hath no opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of the nation's treaſure: He may, if he be wicked enough, ſell the ſecrets of his office to foreign powers, accumulating wealth by betraying his King and Country: But to purloin the money of the ſtate, is a crime out of his reach, let the iniquity of his heart be what it will, becauſe not a penny belonging to the nation paſſes, or can paſs through his fingers. A groom of the ſtole might, if he be a low rogue, ſecret the King's old cloaths, for ought I know, but never yet got his hands into the cheſts of the Exchequer. The only ſituation, therefore, where the moſt raging party jealouſy can ſuſpect the *Favourite* to have been capable of plundering the public, is that of his eleven months preſiding at the board of treaſury; and there *Anti-Sejanus* does, by plain confeſſion, extorted by the force of truth, acquit him of embezzling the nation's money. For (ſays he) "I will

"not

" not ſuppoſe that he imbezzled the public money,
" when he officiouſly thruſt himſelf into office; be-
" cauſe there were ſo many checks upon him in
" that department that he could not eaſily have done
" it without aſſociates, or poſſeſſing more courage
" or cunning than I take him to be maſter of."
Does the writer particularize any method by which *Sejanus* might be ſuppoſed to plunder the public, ſince by imbezzlement he neither did nor could do it? Did he partake in the profits of unreaſonable contracts, or paſs exorbitant treaſury accounts by bribery? Not a word to any ſuch purpoſe.—And why not?—becauſe the writer's imagination did not ſerve him with any feaſible project of defrauding the ſtate, which might be colourably aſcribed to *Sejanus*. As he ſtates the matter, *Sejanus* hath filched one hundred and fifty, or two hundred thouſand pounds out of the national purſe, during his eleven months continuance at the treaſury: At the ſame time he never did imbezzle one ſhilling in that office: and yet this willing witneſs, *Anti-Sejanus*, with the help of all his own friends and *Sejanus*'s other enemies, in and out of office, whether furious authors or gentle readers, cannot track any ſtep that he took, or unravel the craft he practiced to effect that enormous depredation. The obvious concluſions from hence are, that, in truth, he uſed no method of plundering, either common or uncommon; and that the letter-writer did not believe his own calumny; that the party traduced may be a very honeſt man, and the author traducing is no other than a party advocate. Neither of which poſitions do I pretend to advance as new diſcoveries. A very ordinary invention ſtraining to produce methods whereby an abandoned Royal *Favourite* is capable of raiſing a great eſtate, might, no doubt, ſuggeſt ſeveral poſſible expedients to that purpoſe, ſuch as wheedling the Crown out of its money, re-

 ceiving

ceiving an over-grown bribe from France for turning Mr. Pitt out of adminiſtration, touching half a million for procuring to the French a ſcandalous peace, with many other devices equally ſpecious. But the letter-writer having ſhaped his accuſation to his own mind, and laid it to be plundering of the public, I do hereby enter my caveat againſt any after-claps of a tardy invention, or inſinuations of any other ſpecies of rapine, by which the *Favourite* collected his treaſure.

He goes on to aſk how *Sejanus*'s riches could be acquired but by public ſpoil. "Tell me, (ſays he, "with a noble pride of virtue) tell me, ye flatterers "of his, was it by ſtock-jobbing or ſtate-jobbing "that, from a needy northern Thane, he is be-"come a potent Britiſh Noble?" It does ſometimes happen, even to tolerable orators, that in the career of their eloquence, wanting matter to anſwer their intentions, they are forced to fill up and round a period with a chance word that carries no idea. I ſhould not wonder, therefore, if this misfortune ſhould befall *Anti-Sejanus*; and I much ſuſpect that, in his fit of ſublime contempt for the pernicious *Favourite* and his Paraſites, common-ſenſe hath ſlipt from under his virtuous enthuſiaſm. I am at a loſs to gueſs what he points at in the word ſtate-jobbing; and am apt to fancy, that the jingling of this term, with the other of ſtock-jobbing, was the only circumſtance which recommended the former to his choice, and that otherwiſe he intended by ſtate-jobbing neither one thing nor another. If I was one of thoſe flatterers whom he calls upon with ſo much dignity for an anſwer, or if I held a place of profit, as he ſays the late miniſtry did for above two years, upon the tenor of pleaſing *Sejanus*, I declare I could not anſwer one word in particular to this queſtion, not comprehending what it refers to. But in general I can anſwer, without flattery to any

body,

body, that, conſidering from what quarter the queſtion iſſues, if it contains any meaning, this will come out to be ſome foul and falſe inſinuation. As I cannot flatter *Sejanus* upon the head of ſtate-jobbing, neither can I compliment him upon the topic of ſtock-jobbing, having always heard that in Bloomſbury-ſquare, at White's, and Arthur's, and Newmarket too, his Lordſhip paſſed for a ſhallow fellow at all kinds of gaming. To ſay the truth, he never was a dealer in ſtocks: Nor if he ſhould walk into the Alley, would any Jew or ſtock-broker know his face. Loving candour, I am ready to acknowledge the ſtate of the caſe as it really is, however diſadvantageous the conceſſion may prove to *Sejanus* in the polite aſſemblies before-mentioned, or how much ſoever it may turn to his diſcredit among the monied men at Jonathan's. I will anſwer further, not in flattery, but in ſingleneſs of heart, that I do not believe the *Favourite* got his riches by plunder and rapine, by ſtock-jobbing or ſtate-jobbing, if that ſignifies any indirect practice, becauſe I know, with the reſt of the world, the fair means by which they came to his poſſeſſion; and again, that I do believe his intereſt in the princely fortune left by Mr. Wortley, has been ſufficient to enable him to make ſuch a purchaſe as he did, and to gratify a polite taſte in many articles of elegant expence. J. J.

I Will very readily acknowledge to Mr. J. J. that I do not know the yearly revenue of the Iſle of Bute; and if that income has been ſufficient to pay for the eſtates, the palaces, and the improvements which excite the amazement of all mankind, I ſhall think *Anti-Sejanus* much in the wrong, as it it not the buſineſs of any political writer to take the matter under his conſideration, every man having an undoubted right to diſpoſe of his private fortune

fortune as he thinks proper. But I adhere to what *Anti-Sejanus* originally ſaid, and what is known to every body, that the income of the late Mr. Wortley's whole fortune, that was at the diſpoſal of the Thane, has not amounted to above 5000l. per ann. and neither of the employments he held produced 6000l. Theſe are things in which there is no myſtery, and which five hundred people know as well as myſelf; therefore nothing remains for me but to deſire Mr. J. J. to caſt up what can have been the produce of theſe funds, viz. the employments which he held about two years and a half, and the eſtate which he has had, I think about five, not forgetting before he ſtrikes the ballance, to deduct the intereſt of the money laid out in the purchaſe of coal mines from the truſt eſtate.

However, I will be a better friend to the noble perſon he means to ſupport than he is, by letting him know that he will ſerve him more effectually *by being ſilent*. I ſhall conclude this letter with a ſhort extract from a Roman hiſtorian, who, ſpeaking of a gentleman that, from *mean circumſtances*, became in a few years *very rich and powerful*, goes on thus, "He raiſed *magnificent piles of building*; he "purchaſed *great quantities of coſtly furniture*, as "well as *books and pictures*; his expences were "exceſſive. He gave prodigious ſums in marriage "with his children. At laſt he was *accuſed*, and "interrogated who was his father? What *eſtate* he "left him? What *other acceſſions* had fallen to him? "What *ſervices* he had done the public? How he "became ſo immoderately rich? What preſents he "had received from the Emperor or others? What "his *expences* were? And to *how much* his whole "eſtate amounted?"---Upon his not being able to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions, he was found guilty immediately of *crimen peculatus*, and was condemned accordingly. PHILANGLIA.

[*On*

[*On demoliſhing the Jettees, in Sept.* 1765, *by Anti-Sejanus, and a continuation of his letters.*]

I AM deſirous to talk a little ſeriouſly to the gentlemen who compoſe the preſent adminiſtration; but their conduct, conſidered in the moſt favourable and good-natured light imaginable, will at beſt move our contempt and deriſion. Can any thing, let me aſk, be more ridiculous, than to ſee how they plume themſelves, and are extolled by their ſycophants, becauſe the French have condeſcended to promiſe they will deſtroy the Jettees of the harbour of Dunkirk? A point which they voluntarily offered to the late miniſtry over and over again; but it was ſuch a poor piece of fineſſe, ſuch a bare-faced evaſion of the treaty of peace, that they would not hear of it a moment, unleſs attended with other, and infinitely more eſſential articles. Theſe able and expert negotiators were well aware that the harbour itſelf, which is the principal point under conſideration, could not be effectually deſtroyed any other way, than by demoliſhing the Sluice of Bergues, and paſſing off the waters through the canal of Mardyke. As to the Jettees, if they were entirely removed from the very foundation (which I know they will not be, for they talk of deſtroying nothing but a few faſcines and upper works to give a momentary amuſement) the harbour would ſtill remain, for a vaſt number of years, as open and uſeful as ever. This is a point, which the late miniſtry demonſtrated to the French court, by able and experienced engineers, who were ſent thither for that very purpoſe: And this is a point which I am confident the late miniſters would have compleated, if they had not too prematurely fallen a ſacrifice to the wicked deſigns and intrigues of the Favourite. I cannot help remarking that as theſe gentlemen had too much ſagacity and experience

rience to be impoſed upon themſelves, ſo they had too much veracity and honour to impoſe on the reſt of mankind. They did not ſuffer themſelves to be the dupes and bubbles of our artful and perfidious neighbours; and afterwards publiſh a pompous Gazette, to inform the intelligent part of the world, how much they intended to impoſe on their country. No—they reſolutely inſiſted on the treaty of peace being fulfilled, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner; and left it to theſe young, inexperienced, ignorant negotiators to be the dupes to foreign kingdoms, as they are the ſcorn and deriſion of their own. ANTI-SEJANUS.

THERE is one point which I have advanced in a former letter, and muſt beg my readers will forgive me, if I here repeat it again; as it has been confidently denied, by a ſhameleſs and abandoned ſcribler on the other ſide. What I am now ſpeaking of alludes to the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk; which can never be effected, by removing a few faſcines and upper-works, on the Jettees, as the preſent ignorant and boaſtful miniſters would endeavour to perſuade us. The only way of doing it to any purpoſe muſt be by deſtroying the Sluice of Bergues, and paſſing off the waters through the canal of Mardyke. I could wiſh that thoſe perſons, who are ſo loſt to ſhame, as to accuſe the late miniſtry of remiſsneſs in this material point, would call for the papers containing the whole negociation, and let them be laid before the parliament and the public. They will there ſee the reports of thoſe able engineers, who were ſent to Dunkirk to inſpect the harbour, and the ſpirited remonſtrances that were made from time to time, by the late adminiſtration, to the French court. How would it cover them with confuſion, to ſee the caution and ſpirit with which theſe experienced ſtateſmen proceeded

ceeded in this arduous affair, and baffled all the fineſſe and artifice of our treacherous neighbours! I am perſuaded in my conſcience that they would have compleated this material article, if they had continued in power a few months longer: but it is difficult to ſay whether the French will do more than *amuſe* the preſent negotiators, as they are ſo well acquainted with their inexperience and incapacity. I am too great a lover of my country not to wiſh they may compleat what their predeceſſors have ſo happily begun; and though I only laugh at them for the little low artifice, which they have uſed in relation to the Jettees, yet if they procure the *full* performance of the treaty, in the entire demolition of the harbour, I will return them my warmeſt thanks in the moſt grateful and public manner.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens, CUI LUMEN ADEMTUM. VIRG.

THE deſcription which is given by Virgil of Polyphemus, in the line above quoted, ſeems to ſuit exactly with a monſter, that has for ſome time paſt moſt grievouſly infeſted this iſland; and committed greater outrages and barbarities, than any fiery dragon in romance or even the *wild beaſt of Marvejol*. It is a horrid, ſhapeleſs, unwieldy creature, without either eyes or underſtanding; falling upon every thing that comes in its way, with blind and undiſtinguiſhed fury. There is nothing ſo pure and innocent, ſo great and ſacred, as to eſcape its madneſs: we have ſeen it tear to pieces the honeſty of *Bedford*, the integrity of *Grenville*, and the ſpirit and abilities of the *two Montagues*. Having committed theſe ſhocking ravages, it prowls about for further prey, to glut its infatiable appetite; and falls with aſtoniſhing rapacity upon the blooming virtues of our great, and patriot commoner.

The

The next ſtep that it will take is not difficult to foreſee: at a loſs for further rapine, we ſhall ſoon find it direct all its vengeance againſt itſelf, and with true viperous rage prey upon its own bowels. This is generally the end of that hideous monſter PARTY; and one may venture to foretell that it will certainly, and ſpeedily happen, to the ſtrange and unnatural Junto, who are now poſſeſſed of the adminiſtration. It is impoſſible that they ſhould long continue in the ſituation they are in at preſent; they carry with them the principles of their own decay, and muſt in the nature of things very ſhortly

——————————————*diſſolve,*
And like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion
Leave not a wreck behind.

The accounts which we have lately received from Newfoundland, cannot fail of perplexing and alarming them, to the higheſt degree. They are ignorant of the common forms, and routine of office: how then can it be expected that they ſhould ſee into every nice, intricate, and ſecret movement? That they ſhould be ſo ſhrewd and circumſpect in their negotiations, as to counterplot the deep and ſubtle intrigues of foreign courts? That when the treaties, which we have concluded, are undermined by cunning, or broken by violence, they ſhould be poſſeſſed of craft and fineſſe enough to reſtore them on one hand, or of ſpirit, and agility, to aſſert them on the other? Will they dare to reſiſt the encroachments of foreign powers, with half that reſolution, courage, and ability, which the late miniſtry ſhewed in all their negotiations? Is it not rather probable that, inſufficient as they are to ſupport and maintain our rights, they will either tamely ſubmit to ſee them invaded, or by their weak and blundering meaſures involve us in all the miſeries of war. I do not aſk theſe queſtions wantonly, and

at

at random: They ariſe from the love that I bear to my country, and the preſent critical ſituation of our affairs. If ever there was a period, when the greateſt *ſkill* and *experience*, the greateſt ſpirit and activity, the greateſt honeſty and uprightneſs were neceſſary in our leaders; it is at this preſent inſtant, when our perfidious neighbours are watchful to undermine us, and take every opportunity of encroaching upon our rights; and yet ſuch is the ſituation of our finances, that a new war is juſtly to be dreaded, as one of the greateſt, and moſt fatal evils. When our affairs are thus intricate and urgent, why are they committed to the management of raw, inexperienced youth, and dilatory doating age? Why is the malignant influence of SEJANUS ſo great and prevalent, that no perſon of ability and uprightneſs will come near to aſſiſt us? It has extended itſelf, like a large and baneful tree, under the ſhadow of which nothing will grow, but contemptible weeds, and cold and torpid hemlock. Our noble and ſpirited patriot flies from it, as he would from the peſtilence: And with him are flown all our hopes of ſeeing the welfare and glory of this kingdom promoted! It is not to me at all ſurpriſing that Mr. Pitt ſhould refuſe to have any concern, or connection with the preſent ſet of miniſters. It might reaſonably be expected from his ſpirit, his prudence and his honour; all which forbad him to co-operate with ſuch a pye-ball'd Junto, who can never be regarded in any other light, than as tools to a proud and pernicious *Favourite*. It is rather extraordinary that theſe gentlemen ſhould have ſo little modeſty, or ſo much ſelf love, as to flatter themſelves, and give it out to the world, that they were ſure of the aſſiſtance of his ſpirit and abilities. I have candour enough to think that *ſome* of them believed it would happen, when they ſo confidently aſſerted it; and we muſt impute it to their diſ-

appointment

appointment and vexation, that they are now ſo eager in depreciating and abuſing the commoner. In ſhort, I cannot help pitying them ſincerely and heartily: They have thruſt out to ſea, without rudder to ſteer, or compaſs to guide them—they have no light to direct themſelves by, but the dim faint twinkling of their own poor abilities—the ocean is tempeſtuous—the channel rocky—and the paſſage dangerous; it is about a million to one that they are caſt away—but ſhould they eſcape, they will find themſelves at laſt—only in FOOLS PARADISE, under the dominion and tyranny of the *uſurping* SEJANUS.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

——— *Ridiculum acri*
Fortius et melius magnas plerumq; ſecat res. HOR.

I HAVE vanity enough to think, from the kind reception, which theſe papers have met with from the world, that if I had ſooner taken up the pen, and oppoſed the pernicious power of the *Favourite*, he would not have dared to have let looſe his wanton imagination, in planning ſo many wild and viſionary ſchemes, to the ruin of this unhappy kingdom. There is no other way of making amends to my country for this ſad neglect, than by promiſing that I will never leave him, till I have hunted him down, and ſtript him as bare of power, as a blighted tree is of leaves, on the bleakeſt barreneſt moor in Scotland. If ever an oppoſition to the meaſures of government was allowable, it muſt be ſo at this preſent criſis, when through the caprice and intrigues of a pernicious *Favourite*, the reins are entruſted with a ſet of men, who are as unable to conduct the wheels of ſtate, as Phæton was the chariot of the ſun; and who like him, after diſperſing for awhile, in their ſhort career of glory, unequal light and heat, ſcorching up ſome parts, and leaving others to ſtarve with cold, cannot fail of tumbling headlong

headlong down into the abyſs of infamy. Could any thing degrade the dignity of government lower, than the abſurd behaviour of this abſurd junto, during the late famous negotiations? At a meeting in the country, where a buſy, buſtling, ſelf-important OLD WOMAN ſat in the chair, it was abſolutely *put to the vote* whether or no they ſhould accept of the higheſt and moſt honourable offices in the ſtate, which at that time went a begging. A few of them, who had more grace and modeſty than their fellows, were totally againſt it; alledging their want of experience, ability, conſequence, and ſeveral other ingredients, which are neceſſary to the compoſition of a perfect ſtateſman. But it did not all ſignify a farthing; it was carried in the *affirmative* by a conſiderable majority of voices, and nothing remained but to ſit down quietly, and have their ſeveral employments *tried on*. Some of them proteſted aloud that they *did not fit*; but the *old woman*, who acted in this caſe as ſtate-taylor, and *cut them out* for them, ſwore very poſitively, that by G—— they became them excellently well, and ſat upon them with the greateſt eaſe and propriety imaginable. A ſpare thin gentleman in particular, who was to be dreſt up in one of the largeſt ſuits, full trimmed, and embroidered, begged for God's ſake that he might be excuſed, as it was ſo much too big for him that he could not half fill it, and was afraid of being laughed at for his ridiculous and tawdry appearance. But the *old woman* inſiſted upon his wearing it; telling him that he would grow bigger every day; and as to the lace and embroidery, if he did not know what to do with it himſelf, ſhe would readily take it off his hands. By this means the ſeveral employments were at laſt diſpoſed of; but how ſhamefully and improperly it was done, may be ſeen by the ridiculous and contemptible figure which the perſons make on whom they were beſtowed. In-

deed they put me in mind of a high ſheriff's retinue, when he ſallies forth to meet my Lord Judge: A ſet of fellows are picked up, from the highways and hedges, and *put into* cloaths, that have been made time out of mind: it does not ſignify a button whether their liveries fit them or not, ſo as they are all of one colour; for you may frequently ſee a tall, raw-boned, lubberly fellow ſqueezed into a coat, that was made for a young lad of thirteen; and a little, ſlim, ſpindle-ſhanked creature almoſt loſt in one, that is big enough for the famous Mr. Bright.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

O Faciles dare ſumma deos, eademq; tueri
Difficiles!

LUCAN.

HOW deplorable is the ſituation of this unhappy country, under the direction of the preſent ill-aſſorted miniſters, who are diſtracted by ſuch a variety of intereſts, appetites, and connections? And yet—how little proſpect is there that our ſituation can be mended, while we are under the malignant influence of an all-directing Favourite; who in the ſudden and ſurprizing revolutions that he effects has no other oracle to conſult than his own deceitful and prepoſterous WILL? I cannot ſay that I feel myſelf elated with the hopes of happier days, though a multiplicity of reaſons induces me to think another change of adminiſtration at preſent on the tapis. The diſagreement of our motley miniſters among themſelves; the prorogation of parliament, at a time when the whole nation is looking up to it for redreſs; the variety, and diſtraction of our councils; the uncertainty of the ſyſtem, if there is any, chalked out by our leaders; the fulſome flattery, which is paid to a pernicious and deteſted Favourite—all theſe are ſo many convincing proofs, that the miniſtry can never ſtand on its preſent ill-cemented, and tottering baſis. Whether from the rubbiſh,

biſh, that may be gathered up when they fall, duly tempered together with other freſh materials, one more uſeful and permanent is likely to be formed, is a queſtion that will not be very difficult to anſwer, if we can once find out who will be the architect, or maſter builder of the new fabric. Will the great commoner be called forward to draw out the plan, and overlook the operations? Will his upright kinſman, the generous and patriotic Earl Temple, whoſe unſhaken firmneſs we have experienced for ſuch a number of years, be the chief pillar and ſupport of the new ſtructure? Then may we expect a firm and well proportioned edifice, in which both uſe and ornament, ſtrength and harmony, will be equally conſulted. But, alas, there is no *immediate* proſpect of ſuch an event happening, though it is ſo ardently, ſo univerſally wiſhed for by every one, who has the welfare of his country at heart. I am ſorry to ſay that the reigning taſte is too gothic, too northern!—inſtead of this able maſter, a blundering Favourite will be employed, to put together *another* BABEL adminiſtration, which will end like the preſent in confuſion and uproar. The materials, he will make uſe of, are part of them old and rotten to the very core; and part of them ſo warped and crooked, that it is as impoſſible they ſhould ever be firmly united, as that iron and clay ſhould incorporate. He has no other cement to bind them, than that of intereſt; and this will very ſoon crumble and moulder away into nothing. It is eaſy to foretell that ſuch an ill-compacted ſtructure will not, cannot be durable; it is like the fooliſh man's houſe, which the ſcripture tells us was built upon the ſand; when the reign of diſcontent deſcends, and the torrent of faction foams, and the wind of party beats againſt it, it muſt inevitably fall, and bury the deſpicable architect in its ruins!

That what I have here laid down is not mere conjecture and ſuppoſition, muſt be evident to every one, who takes the trouble of conſidering the temper and complexion of the times. How totally are they altered, within theſe laſt two months, from their former diſpoſition and colour? Where is that virulent hatred, which the miniſtry ſo loudly expreſſed againſt the deteſted *Sejanus?* It is converted (proh pudor, inverſiq; mores!) into love and friendſhip. Convinced of the impoſſibility of proceeding upon the plan, which the leſs experienced and leſs temporizing amongſt them, hoped formerly to purſue, they have altered their ground, and fly for ſhelter to the baleful power of the Favourite. The old and hackney'd politicians have already cry'd out *peccavi*, and are prepared to undergo any penance, that the lordly Thane may pleaſe to inflict. I would not wiſh the moſt inveterate enemy that I have, a more cruel and ignominious fate, than to be preſſed into the ſervice of *Sejanus*, and compelled to fight under his uſurping ſtandard. Yet dreadful as the ſituation is, the horrors of it may be ſhockingly aggravated, if we ſuppoſe an unweildly veteran engaged in the ſame ſyſtem, who is goaded by thoſe turbulent paſſions revenge and rancour, and graſps, with a rapacity unparallelled, at every preferment eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, to aggrandize a family, whom one would think he intends to *overlay* with riches and honours. Who can enumerate all the miſeries that are in ſtore for this devoted kingdom, if we are thus notoriouſly to be oppreſſed with the load of favouritiſm, and continue to be governed by the blind and erring ſpirit of partial prejudice? Who can foreſee all the confuſion, uproar, and anarchy that awaits us, if men of the moſt ſhining talents, and ſtedfaſt integrity, are to be wantonly thrown aſide, becauſe they have too much honeſt pride and ſpirit to truckle, and bow

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the knee to Baal? I will venture to affirm that it is impoſſible, in the nature of things, there ſhould be the leaſt harmony, or ſtability in our councils, while a perverſe and fickle Favourite is the animating ſoul of the ill-digeſted ſyſtem. His altar will be for ever ſmoaking with the ſacrifice of men and meaſures: faith and honour, which are the baſis of government, as well as commerce, will every hour be ſhamefully diſregarded: perſons of ability and uprightneſs will keep aloof, unwilling to be reſponſible for meaſures, which they have neither plan'd nor executed: There will be a conſtant ſucceſſion of *weak or wicked tools*, to carry on his infamous purpoſes: The welfare of the kingdom will be neglected, in the general ſtruggle and ſcramble for ſelf: every change will leſſen the dignity of the ſtate, and the power of the magiſtracy, by begetting in the minds of the people *a contempt for government*, and an impatience of ſubordination. It is not difficult to ſay where this confuſion will end; but I muſt beg leave to throw a veil over the melancholy proſpect, which will be chequered, unleſs the hand of Providence interpoſes, with ghaſtly ſcenes of blood and horror. ANTI-SEJANUS.

About forty ſailors, eager to get on ſhore, crouded all into one boat, *which had no ſooner hoiſted ſail than it overſet and ſunk; whereby thirty of them were drowned.* Lond. Gazette, Oct. 12.

AFTER turning over ſeveral of the claſſics, in ſearch of a motto for this day's paper, which I meant to be deſcriptive of the origin and fate of the new adminiſtration; an author, whom they muſt allow to belong to their party (though I ſhould much doubt of his real attachment to them, as he has not yet, like their other writers, be-praiſed and be-flattered the Favourite) has happily furniſhed me with the ſentence above quoted, which exactly an-

ſwers my purpoſe. It contains ſo true and lively a deſcription of certain poor *unfortunate adventurers*, that if I had found it in any other paper, I ſhould have conſidered it as a ſatire on the gentlemen now in office; and ſhould have concluded it came from ſome friendly hand, who joins in the pleaſant and laudible undertaking of laughing them out of thoſe ſtations, for which their very advocates are by this time pretty well convinced of their unfitneſs and inſufficiency.

At the beginning of the late convulſions, when the caprice and intrigues of the Favourite had rendered the poſſeſſion of power diſagreeable and dangerous to thoſe, who were at that time the occupyers, the faireſt opportunity offered to remedy every *imaginary* national grievance, and to eſtabliſh his Majeſty's government on a ſure and ſolid baſis. The *miniſters of the people* might have had the principal ſway; the final abdication of the Favourite might have been effected; and men of the firſt abilities and credit might have been ſelected, indiſcriminately *from all parties*, to fill the higheſt offices of the ſtate. An adminiſtration thus formed would have given univerſal ſatisfaction to the kingdom, would have put an end to our diviſions at home, and eſtabliſhed our credit abroad. It was the higheſt, nay the only ambition of the Great-Commoner, and his truly patriotic kinſman, to have ſettled matters on this permanent and deſirable foundation: A few weeks, or perhaps a few days delay would inevitably have effected this ſalutary purpoſe: Thoſe ſtateſmen, who were really called aloud for by the people, begged and entreated that the gentlemen now in office would have a little patience; telling them that the ſhip was aground, and it required the united effort of the whole crew to get her off, and bring her ſafe to port. But in vain—they began a

mutiny

mutiny on the forecaſtle, *and crouding all into one boat* declared they would *ſhift for themſelves.*

I will not purſue the metaphor any further, though it is applicable in every part; but aſk thoſe, who are impartial and informed, whether this is not a true picture of what happened at the late change; and whether I am juſtly accuſed of miſleading the nation, in affirming that the preſent crew are diſcountenanced by the two patriots and their friends, who were formerly embarked in the ſame ſhip, and met with this injurous treatment from them? What purpoſe can it ſerve to amuſe the public, as the miniſterial writers continue to do, by diſputing a point that is given up, every where but in the news-papers; and which (if the parliament is not FARTHER PROROGUED) will be proved to their confuſion ſoon after Chriſtmas? Had thoſe who compoſe the preſent miniſtry acted in conjuction, and according to their engagements with Lord Temple, and Mr. Pitt, every thing might have been obtained, that the public deſired; but their vanity, raſhneſs, and ambition, made them forget the obligations they were under, and ſacrifice the welfare of the public to their own ſordid views of private intereſt and advantage.

Theſe are facts which have not yet been touched upon, and I own it will excite my curioſity to obſerve what anſwer will be attempted to be made to them. I am perſuaded the world will ſee that unleſs it is contradicted by authority, from the patriots themſelves, it will be taken for what it really is, an authentic hiſtory of the able negotiations of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and will account for the retreat of the Great Commoner, as well as the patriotic and ſpirited behaviour of that unſhaken friend to England, Earl Temple.

And now before I conclude, it may not be improper to take a ſhort view of the forty mutineers,

who raſhly put to ſea in the boat; or in other words, of the preſent adminiſtration, who ſo baſely deſerted their comrades, and crouding into their ſeveral offices, *hoiſted ſail*, and launched out on their own bottoms. It is impoſſible in the nature of things but they muſt ſoon *overſet* and *ſink*: unſupported by thoſe on whom alone they ſhould have relied for credit, popularity, and parliamentary aſſiſtance, it is univerſally allowed they cannot *weather the ſtorm* till the meeting of the great council of the nation. Cabals are already forming to compoſe a freſh plan of adminiſtration: if fame ſays true, there has been a political congreſs on the ſea coaſt, by which it has been agreed that they ſhould ſet all popularity at defiance, and call forth the Favourite to appear publickly in their ſupport. Far be it from me, to affirm that this idea is reliſhed by *all* our preſent rulers: *Some* of the younger part among them I well know, are as adverſe to it as other independent members of the community: but when once ſuch a matter is agitated, and liſtened to, by any leaders of the miniſtry, it proves to demonſtration, that they are convinced they cannot ſtand their ground. Indeed every day's experience ſhews us what a poor opinion they have of their own ſtrength and permanency. Would a powerful and ſpirited adminiſtration put off the combat to the laſt moment? Have they forgot how they triumphed, when in oppoſition two years ago, over the late miniſters, upon a *report* only that they did not mean to face the parliament before Chriſtmas? And when that report was found to be falſe, was it not the language every where that the miniſtry knew their ſtrength and deſerved ſupport, which they would not have met with, had they ſhewn puſillanimity by a contrary conduct?

Another ſymptom of their decline, is the apparent diſunion among them, and the violent ſcramble

ble that is raiſed, by every piece of preferment that drops, either in the army, the church, or the ſtate. Indeed I am the leſs ſurpriſed at the eagerneſs with which every one ſnatches for himſelf, when I conſider the rapacity of one of their leaders, who would engroſs them entirely to his own ſhare. We have ſeen him already ſtruggling for a regiment, and diſpoſing of a conſiderable dignity in the church; and I ſhall be much diſappointed if the greateſt mark of honour in the kingdom, and a high rank in the navy, are not very ſhortly transferred into the ſame channel. He is ſenſible that the preſent fabric cannot ſtand; and therefore thinks it adviſeable to provide for his friends without loſs of time; regardleſs whether he thereby offends the other members of the party, who preſume to think that they ought ſometimes to be admitted into a ſhare of the advantages, as they partake of the burden of being miniſters of ſtate.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Ad illa tempora perventum eſt, quibus nec vitia noſtra, nec remedia pati poſſumus. LIV.

AS the day is at laſt fixed for the meeting of the preſent parliament, it may not be improper to give my readers a ſhort view of the ſtate of this country; from which they may collect the dangers and difficulties, that, like a cloud big with ruin and horror, hang over the preſent adminiſtration.

I am ſorry to ſay that a ſpirit of luxury and diſſipation, of diſcontent and riot, ſeems to have pervaded all ranks and conditions of men. The nobility and gentry, enſlaved by a train of faſhionable and expenſive vices, out-live the current incomes of their fortunes, and feel all the *real* diſtreſſes of an *artificial* poverty; while the lower ſort of people imitate the manners, as well as dreſs of their ſuperiors, and ſquander away their little all in gaming and intemperance. By this means their minds

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are debaſed and enervated; thought and reflection are irkſome, labour and induſtry are intolerable. They are encompaſſed by a croud of clamorous wants and neceſſities, that too often goad them on to acts of violence and deſperation. A general ſpirit of murmuring and diſſatisfaction prevails; all ſubordination is diſregarded; the laws are broken, and the power of the magiſtrate is inſulted: Tumults and inſurrections are frequent; and we ſeem ripe for the miſeries and horrors of a civil war.

Whether this is not a true, though a faint picture of the preſent times, I leave every one to judge, who conſiders the late riots and commotions with that ſerious attention which they certainly deſerve. In how deplorable and deſperate a ſituation is this unhappy country, when one of the higheſt branches of the legiſlative power is not ſacred from injury and inſult? But what ſhall we ſay, if this ſeditious ſpirit of tumult and inſurrection has been foſtered in the boſom of the great and noble?---Surely it calls aloud for the earlieſt attention, and moſt ſtrenuous interpoſition of P-----t, to find out and cruſh this dangerous viper, that preys with ſuch unnatural rage on the vitals of its mother country! There never was a period in the Engliſh hiſtory, when the affairs of this kingdom were in a more deſperate ſtate than at preſent: We are diſtracted with tumults and diſſentions at home, and our colonies abroad are in a ſtate of almoſt open rebellion; unwilling to bear the leaſt ſhare in the burdens of government, though they enjoy the privileges, the ſupport, and protection of it. What aggravates, and I am afraid will perpetuate our diſtreſſes, is, that the authority of government is weakened, by the capricious removal of men, who were every way qualified for their arduous employments; and by committing the reins of power into the hands of thoſe, who are utterly unqualified to manage

them

them properly. It is no injury to the preſent adminiſtration, to ſay that they are not the men, whom the nation called for, nor the men whom the nation can truſt. There is a general diſſatisfaction and jealouſy; the former occaſioned by the inexperience of one part of our miniſters, and the latter by the well known corruption and venality of the other. Nothing can remove our diſcontent, or ſilence our fears, but the baniſhment of the Favourite; which will be ſucceeded by the happieſt of all events, the downfall of the preſent junto, and the promotion of Lord T-----e, and his patriotic adherents. Till this moſt deſirable period arrives, all will be diſcord and confuſion; our diviſions at home will encreaſe every moment, and our colonies abroad, acquainted with the weakneſs and unſettled ſtate of our affairs, will be impatient of controul, and wax wanton with licentiouſneſs. I will venture to maintain that there is not one man in the kingdom, who has the leaſt affection for his country, the leaſt regard for his friends, the leaſt anxiety for himſelf (and without any of theſe he muſt be a very ſtock or ſtone) but longs to ſee an adminiſtration eſtabliſhed, which Lord T-----e ſupports, and Mr. P—t approves. Even ſome of our preſent mock miniſters, intoxicating as the love of power is, begin to grow ſick of the poſſeſſion, and are trying to rid themſelves of it. They have deferred the meeting of P-----t to the very laſt moment; (for notwithſtanding the day appointed is *before*, no buneſs can be tranſacted till *after* Chriſtmas) conſcious that it was impoſſible for them to ſtand the ſhock of that illuſtrious aſſembly. They now begin to reflect on the difficulties that ſurround them, and the dangers to which they are expoſed, from the perplexity of the times, and their own weakneſs and inability. The Chancellor of the Ex----r finds himſelf called upon in the moſt ſerious manner

ner to fulfil that precipitate promiſe, which he unhappily made to his unreaſonable conſtituents. The principal gentlemen of ſeveral cyder counties are aſſembling together to draw up inſtructions for their repreſentatives, to procure the repeal of the cyder tax: a point, which the C-----r of the Exchequer, has given them reaſon to believe HE HIMSELF would effect; thus arrogantly aſſuming a power, by far too great for a ſubject, and ſcarce tolerable even in a —— over a free people. The anſwer that has been given to this, by his injudicious advocates, is that the cyder tax is unpopular and oppreſſive; which might, with equal juſtice and propriety, be ſaid of any other duty whatever. Every maltſter and hop-planter has as good reaſon to complain of the unpopularity and oppreſſion of the duties upon malt and hops, as the cyder merchant. And if every individual is to ſet himſelf up for a judge of every particular tax that is impoſed; if every pert, imperious R—p—ſ---t---ve ſhall pretend that he will repeal thoſe duties, which are a partial grievance to his own county; how, in the name of wonder, ſhall we be able to pay the intereſt of that enormous debt, which we have contracted, or provide for the dignity of the crown, and the exigencies of government? if this be *popularity*, I will venture to ſay that it will over-turn the credit, and tranquillity of the nation, will expoſe us to the deteſtation of foreign countries, and reduce us to a melancholy ſtate of anarchy and confuſion.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Incitabant præterea corrupti Civitatis Mores; quos peſſima ac diverſa inter ſe Mala, Luxuria atque Avaritia vexabant. SAL.

IT is a manifeſt, but a melancholy truth, that there never was any particular criſis recorded in hiſtory, when a commotion, either at home or abroad, was

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ſo likely to be productive of fatal conſequences to the conſtitution as the preſent, and that for the following reaſons: The frequent changes that have happened in all the great departments of ſtate within theſe laſt five years have ſhaken the very foundations of government, by deſtroying all opinion of its ſteadineſs and reſolution, thoſe two main pillars on which its credit and authority muſt principally depend. Another reaſon is, the weakneſs and inſufficiency of our preſent Miniſters, which, as they are known to our enemies, cannot fail of inducing them to throw every difficulty in their way, and to be indefatigable in tying ſuch Gordian knots as they will never be able to looſe. For theſe two bleſſings we are indebted to the *Favourite*, who, whether deſignedly or no, I will not pretend to ſay, has ſerved the cauſe of France more effectually by his reſtleſs and capricious conduct, than if he had ſteadily and uniformly ſupported the intereſts of his luckleſs kinſman, the TRAITEROUS STEWART, who, I will venture to affirm, has not been a greater curſe to this nation than himſelf.

But there are other reaſons of a melancholy and ill-boding aſpect that ariſe immediately from ourſelves. It grieves me to remark that, among the lower claſs of people, the poor remains of public ſpirit, which has long ago been drawn off to the very laſt dregs, begin to loſe their original virtue, and to ferment into diſorder and licentiouſneſs, while thoſe of a ſuperior degree ſeem to have laid aſide that common regard for their country, which ſhould be the regulating ſpring of all their actions, and to be guided by ſordid ſelfiſhneſs, unmanly prejudice, and head-long paſſion. Were ever patriots more rare, or factions more frequent than at preſent? Indeed, nothing can be more applicable to theſe times than the remark, which was made by a celebrated hiſtorian, on the Roman Senate, at

that

that particular criſis when Liberty was juſt expiring of the wounds which ſhe had received from anarchy on one hand and tyranny on the other; "*Lepidus* had a party, *Antony* had a party, and *Cæſar* a party—but ROME had none." This, I am afraid, is exactly the caſe in our preſent political conteſt: Among the ſeveral factions that diſtract and harraſs the kingdom, how few are there who have the good of their country only at heart, and make it their ſole object, to which every action is directed? Peradventure there may be *ten ſuch righteous perſons* found in the nation; and theſe, perhaps, might be ſufficient to ſave us from impending ruin, if they were not prevented by a pernicious *Favourite* from putting their honeſt intentions into execution. It is evident to every one, who can at all reflect on the preſent poſture of affairs, that there is no other impediment to an immediate and general coalition of parties than the deteſted influence of a pertinacious minion: It is This that deprives us of the aſſiſtance of the Great and Good of every denomination, who are taught by experience how dangerous and dreadful it is to ſwim down the rapid ſtream of politics with a companion of his hardened caſt, who will be ſure, in the end, to bulge and break them to pieces.

If we conſider the depravity and corruption of the preſent age, it is not at all ſurpriſing that the *Favourite*, deteſtable as he is, and will ever be to the Engliſh nation, ſhould be able to pick up one deſperate champion to defend him. But though it is not to be wondered at, it is to be lamented ſeriouſly, as the fulſome panegyrics that he beſtows may be the means of turning the brain of his patron, unaccuſtomed, Gods knows, as he is to praiſe, and preventing him from ſeeing his true and only intereſt, which is to retire immediately, till the preſent ſtorm be over. If he delays much longer, it

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will be too late; it will be out of the reach of palliatives to relieve us. Whoever conſults the annals of different countries, and obſerves the *prevailing principles*, at thoſe particular periods which have been marked by ſome violent convulſions or fatal cataſtrophe, will find that they bear too melancholy a reſemblance to our own. Indeed we ſeem to be ripe for ſome dreadful calamity: There are, in every form of government, however wiſe and excellent, ſome evils interwoven with their very conſtitution, that grow up along with them, as worms and flies with particular trees and plants, in which they have been engendered. The ſeeds of theſe evils might, perhaps, at firſt be too minute to be diſcovered; but they are ſure of encreaſing, by degrees, till they become at laſt ſo formidable as to endanger the very being of the government, with which they have regularly grown up. Hence it has been found neceſſary in every ſtate, after a particular period, to weed the government of theſe noxious qualities, and reduce it back again to its firſt principles. This is what Machiavel and other Italian writers call *ripigliare il Stato*, which cannot be effected but by two methods; one is by the joint aſſiſtance of the able, upright, and great of every party, whoſe influence and example may, in time, correct every abuſe, and rekindle in our breaſts the dying embers of public virtue; the other method is more expeditious, indeed, but at the ſame time truly dreadful: It is by ſome fierce and violent convulſion, which will ſhake the government to its very centre, and may, perhaps, ſo diſorder it, that it will never recover its original ſtrength and beauty. How ardently muſt every one, who loves his country, pray for the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of thoſe worthies and patriots, who are driven by the deteſted *Favourite* into retirement, and can only at preſent, in ſilent ſorrow, bewail the dangers that threaten this devoted kingdom?

ANTI-SEJANUS.

A ſingular defence of Lord BUTE.

IN April 1763, the Earl of Bute reſigned his office of firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury; and through his own recommendation, was ſucceeded in that department by Mr. Grenville. The Earl of Sandwich, by the intereſt of Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland, took Mr. Grenville's ſeat at the head of the Admiralty. The reſt of the adminiſtration remained in their former places; Earl Grenville, Preſident of the Council, Lord Henley, Lord Chancellor (or keeper of the Great Seal) the Earls of Halifax and Egremont, Secretaries of State.

Upon Lord Bute's return to town from Knareſborough, where he had paſſed a month or ſix weeks in the neighbourhood of Harrogate Waters for the recovery of his health, he lived upon good terms with all the King's Miniſters, till the death of Earl Grenville, towards the end of the ſummer 1763.

This was the incident which occaſioned the firſt material difference of opinion between the Miniſters of that time and the Earl of Bute, the former inſiſting that the buſineſs of government could not go on, unleſs the Duke of Leeds was made Preſident of the Council in Lord Grenville's room, and the Earl of Bute, with whom they conferred upon this ſubject, adviſing, with all deference and juſtice to the worth and honour of his Grace the Duke of Leeds, that they ſhould think of ſome other great perſon more trained to public buſineſs, and the fitteſt that could be found to ſupply the place of the able Miniſter, deceaſed.

The diverſity of opinion upon this point was not decided, when the Earl of Egremont alſo died. The conſequence of two ſuch vacancies, in a ſmall circle of five or ſix Miniſters, was to ſuſpend all buſineſs of cabinet council; a condition of public affairs which could not endure a long delay.

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It muſt be remembered too, that the adminiſtration which the Earl of Bute left behind him, at his retirement from the Treaſury, was not thought to be ſufficiently ſtrong, when entire: Mr. Grenville, the intended Miniſter in the Houſe of Commons, being deſtitute of connections there, untried, and not fortified with the world's opinion. But when that Miniſtry had loſt the ſupport of the Earls of Granville and Egremont, the remnant was univerſally conſidered as too feeble and ruinous to admit of common repair or amendment.

The urgent neceſſity, therefore, of filling up the cabinet council for the ſake of daily buſineſs, and the conjunctural neceſſity of doing it by the moſt powerful auxiliaries, ſuggeſted to the Earl of Bute the thought of compoſing a firm adminiſtration by a coalition of Mr. Pitt with the then ſurviving Miniſters, as a meaſure rendered ſeemingly practicable by thoſe openings which the hand of Providence had made in two of the higheſt offices. He met Mr. Pitt, and tried to conciliate him to the King's ſervice in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Mr. Grenville. The attempt met with inſuperable difficulties on the part of Mr. Pitt, who would not liſten to any propoſition by which he ſhould be yoked in buſineſs with Mr. Grenville. When the Earl of Bute found his firſt project of a coalition inadmiſſible, he reſorted to a ſecond expedient for the gaining of Mr. Pitt to the public, by ſuch arrangements as might ſoften the removal of thoſe among the K.'s ſervants, whom that gentleman did not approve of in the ſtations they then held; and he parted at laſt from that meeting with Mr. Pitt in a belief that the latter would engage in adminiſtration.

Mr. P. was ſoon afterwards admitted to the honour of two or three conferences with a much higher perſon, in which his conditions were fully propoſed

and conſidered, and which ended unfortunately in his excuſing himſelf from then entering into the K.'s ſervice.

As my meaning is not either to blame or excuſe any body for the iſſue of this negotiation, I ſhall not ſtate here the conditions upon which that treaty ſplit; further than negatively, that they had no relation to the E. of B.'s political ſituation, which had never been mentioned or pointed at in the converſation between Mr. P. and him, or in the ſubſequent conferences before-mentioned.

The E. of B.'s ſucceſſive plans of a new adminiſtration proving thus abortive in the experiment, the K. permitted the ſubſiſting members of his cabinet council to remain in their ſeveral departments, and to fill up the vacancies in that body according to their own judgment; and they accepted of his gracious indulgence, offering no terms whatſoever relative to the E. of B. nor making any ſtipulations whatſoever with him.

In purſuance of their powers, they promoted the Earl of Sandwich to the late Lord Egremont's Seals, and the Duke of Bedford to the Council Chair of the late Lord Granville. By what inducements or change of circumſtances thoſe gentlemen were led from their former purpoſe of placing the Duke of Leeds at the head of the K.'s Council, is a ſecret to themſelves. Certain it is, the E. of B. had no hand in either of the two promotions juſt now ſpoke of; for, upon the failure of his ſyſtem, he reſolved to concern himſelf no more in the affairs of adminiſtration. He ſaw it impoſſible to mix in their conſultations with friendly intercourſe, a miniſter being at the head of the Treaſury whom he had ſo lately conſented to diſplace for the ſake of Mr. Pitt. He ſaw it to be equally impracticable, if he was willing, to offer ſecret advice to his Sovereign, independently of his official miniſters; for, if they had a

ſpark of dignity, or even a grain of pride in their compoſitions, they could not continue a day in the K.'s ſervice, after finding their ſentiments in buſineſs, or recommendations to office, over-ruled, or other meaſures and promotions obtruded upon them, by a perſon with whom they had ſo recently been offended. He wrote a letter, therefore, (not to Mr. Grenville, or any other of the miniſters) but to his gracious Sovereign, humbly ſtating the reſolution, which, for the K.'s ſervice, as well as for his own eaſe, he had thought himſelf obliged to take; and then to remove, if poſſible, all occaſions of jealouſy, he retired to his houſe in Bedfordſhire for the whole enſuing winter 1763-4.

Now, becauſe it is not my purpoſe to dreſs up an artificial tale, I do aſſert what I moſt ſincerely and honeſtly believe, and think I have ſolid grounds for believing, that, from the period when his plan miſcarried of ſtrengthening government by the acquiſition of Mr. Pitt, in Autumn 1763, he hath been a private man, taking no ſhare or part whatſoever in any of the proceedings of adminiſtration, or acts of ſtate, either by conſultation with the ſervants of the Crown, or by diſcourſe and ſecret ſuggeſtion to the high perſonage who ſo worthily wears it.

The letter abovementioned gave Mr. Grenville no claim to expect of the E. of B. his retirement from the concerns of ſtate; no right to complain of breach of faith, if he ſhould afterwards have ſtepped forwards and been received by the Crown into the management of affairs, either open and avowed, or ſecret and confidential; becauſe that letter had nothing in it of the nature of a compact with Mr. Grenville, or any other perſon: it could not poſſibly be any part of his inducements for continuing in office, after the ſlight he had met with in ſeeing Mr. Pitt ſo much preferred before him by the ne-

gotiation of September 1763; for the letter was not wrote till he had digeſted that indignity, and agreed to ſtay in the K—'s ſervice; nay, there was a paſſage in the letter, which expreſsly mentioned Mr. Grenville's determination to keep his employment, as an event that had then actually taken place.

The letter, as I have ſaid, was declaratory of the E. of B.'s wiſh and intention to withdraw from the K.'s buſineſs, for reaſons which concerned the quiet of his M———'s government, as well as the repoſe of the E. of B. himſelf. He has, however, ſince the period abovementioned, obſerved his reſolution with as much punctuality, as if he had been bound by the moſt ſolemn engagement; 1ſt, he hath not ſince that time offered advice to the K. for the taking or forbearing of any ſtep in public affairs, domeſtic, provincial, or foreign; in particular, he did not lead the Royal opinion upon the ſubject of the late Regency-bill either in its firſt concoction or ſubſequent alterations, or in the removal of the late Miniſtry, or the appointment of the preſent. Neither hath he aſked his M. for any place, penſion or emolument, for his acquaintance, friends, relations, or for himſelf.

2dly, He hath not conſulted or diſcourſed with the late Miniſters upon any branch of public buſineſs, ſince the time ſpecified: Indeed he hath ſcarce been in the ſame room with any of them, except, perhaps, in a public place, and that very rarely; nor hath he applied to thoſe gentlemen for any favour of government, except a ſmall place of about 100l. per annum, which he employed an acquaintance to aſk in his Lordſhip's name of Mr. Grenville in the ſummer 1764, and which that gentleman promiſed to give when it ſhould fall; and this has not happened.

Thus

Thus I have taken the freedom to aſſert this nobleman's inactivity in the adminiſtration of affairs from a certain æra abſolutely and univerſally. I have, indeed, laid down this aſſertion much more largely than any purpoſe of his defence required; for I could give inſtances where every body beſides the late miniſters would allow he might have interfered without cenſure, nor have I any reaſon for taking my ground ſo widely, but a full conviction that the truth is as I have ſtated it. The contrary opinion which I am ſenſible has prevailed with many, owed its commencement to the laſt oppoſition, who gave out their doctrine of the E. of B.'s ſupremacy behind the curtain with a party deſign of throwing odium and contempt upon the late miniſters, as his ſubordinate tools and underlings; which the preſent advocates for thoſe gentlemen not diſcerning, they have, by vague, general, declamatory charges of a ſecret influence, exerciſed by the ſame nobleman, (as far as in them lay) confirmed the ſcandal caſt upon their patrons in the blind purſuit of revenge againſt the E. of. B.

J. J.

A letter to the Earl of B—, *upon the ſeveral changes of adminiſtration.*

AT the time of your Lordſhip's open acceſſion to power, we were bleſſed with a young and patriot King, who, born a Briton, had no attachment to foreign countries, or connections that were prejudicial to our national intereſts. The helm was directed by a moſt beloved and popular miniſter, who had conducted us through innumerable dangers and difficulties, and, by a ſeries of victorious events, exalted this kingdom to the higheſt pitch of glory. How ſoon that able and upright ſtateſman was driven, by your pernicious power and

 counſel,

counſel, from the ear of his S———, and conſequently from the aid of his country, needs very little recollection.

That your Lordſhip ſhould contrive the diſmiſſion of this patriot miniſter, and undertake yourſelf to give peace to Europe, will not appear at all ſurpriſing to thoſe who are acquainted with the jealous and ſordid turn of your mind. If Mr. Pitt had concluded a ſafe and honourable peace, you were aware that he would, by that means, have ſo endeared himſelf, not to the people only, but the King, as to have rendered himſelf a great and formidable rival: You was determined, therefore, to run all hazards to prevent it; and that you might rivet yourſelf more firmly to your maſter's heart, reſolved to undertake the office yourſelf. But here, with a ſagacity unuſual to your Lordſhip, you juſtly foreſaw that your ſituation, with regard to your country, and the want of credit, as well as influence, with your fellow ſubjects, would oblige you to call in ſome powerful aſſiſtance to compleat this ſalutary work. For this purpoſe you pointed out to your Prince a proper perſon as a coadjutor; a prudent, powerful, and (till your ſiniſter arts prevailed) a popular nobleman; who, ſeeing the ſituation of his Sovereign and his Country, readily obeyed the call, and gave to both that reſpite they ſo much required. You will pardon me if I here remind your Lordſhip of that baſe and ungenerous treatment which you ſhewed towards that nobleman; how you embarraſſed him in one of the moſt nice and difficult enterprizes that ever was undertaken; how you perplexed him with your abſurd and contradictory inſtructions; and, for fear he ſhould conclude *too good a peace*, and gain *too much credit* with his King and Country, uſed your utmoſt endeavours to make him for ever forfeit the eſteem and approbation of both. Your wicked artifices moſt

fortunately

fortunately failed, and all the advantage you reaped from them was only to exaſperate his Grace, and make him deſervedly ſuſpicious of your Lordſhip.

After you had been hunted out of office by the public cry, what vows and proteſtations did you make, that you would never again interfere in public buſineſs. Theſe declarations were ſcarce made before they were broken. From the moment that you *hung your tail* and ſlunk out of office, you determined to govern *in the ſhade* as abſolutely and *as wiſely* as you had done during the little time your *tender eyes* could *bear the light*. Unhappily for you the nobility of England were too ſtubborn to ſubmit to be your tools and creatures. This unexpected behaviour offended your pride, and excited your indignation: In a tranſport of courage never felt before, you boldly, boldly indeed, had recourſe to the Patriot Commoner, and ſued to him for refuge. You raſhly introduced him to your maſter, and thus ſubjected your P———, your benefactor, and your friend, to the mortification of that refuſal, which, if you had not been blinded by paſſion and folly, you might eaſily have foreſeen and prevented.

'Twas then, my Lord, you was indeed, forced to a retreat, and obliged to withdraw, for a time, that influence over our councils, which it was but too apparent you ſtill poſſeſſed. In this abdication of yours, you could not keep from meddling, and yet durſt not *act out*, like a man; you lived, my Lord, a Lye, and was at perpetual variance with yourſelf; diſowning, in a baſe and cowardly manner, thoſe dark and underhand practices you was every day committing. All your emiſſaries were ſet to work, to obſtruct the adminiſtration of thoſe very gentlemen you yourſelf had ſo lately recommended, as the ableſt, the fitteſt, nay the only pro-

per and capable perſons to conduct your Royal Maſter's affairs.

The confidence which our able and active miniſters began every day to acquire, alarmed you: You grew apprehenſive that your power in the cloſet would decline; you ſaw how unanimouſly bent they were, to reduce your exorbitant power. In ſuch a deſperate ſituation, the remedy was deſperate, and there ſeemed to be nothing left but to fly to the arms of that illuſtrious perſon, whoſe *bulk* you thought ſufficient to ſhield you from the impending danger. You did not, it muſt be confeſſed, apply to him *immediately yourſelf*. You was conſcious how little favour you deſerved at his hands, having formerly taken every opportunity of manifeſting your hatred and averſion to him, and ſubjecting him to frequent *mortifying proofs*, that you had infuſed the ſame ſentiments *elſewhere*. You was well acquainted with the ambitious and neceſſitous ends of that perſon, whom you wanted to enliſt into your ſervice, and wiſely made uſe of them to delude him to forget himſelf, to lay aſide his wonted pride, hatred and revenge; and, to the aſtoniſhment of all England, to become neither more nor leſs than your courier to Hayes, where you was aſhamed and afraid ever to appear again yourſelf. The reſult of this negotiation did honour to the Great Patriot, and the few whom his judgement and public ſpirit had connected with himſelf.

Even this ſtroke, this deſperate ſtroke of yours failed: You was unable to form ſuch a miniſtry as you fondly expected; and, for want of foreſight, involved yourſelf in difficulties that you never dreamed of. Mr. *Pitt* moſt nobly and reſolutely refuſed to bear any ſhare in an adminiſtration that was to be packed together and garbled by you.

And now, my Lord, ſit down coolly, and reflect a little on your raſh, inconſiſtent, paſſionate

conduct.

conduct. How muſt it expoſe us to the ſcorn and ridicule of our neighbours, to have it known that all the great offices of the kingdom, the care of our laws, our treaſures, our naval and military powers, have been offered over and over again to various perſons; and for a long time none found hardy enough to accept them, upon ſuch a plan, and under ſuch a *coadjutive dictatorſhip*.

[*Letters on behalf of the Adminiſtration, in anſwer to Anti-Sejanus, &c.*]

I own myſelf extremely ſhocked to ſee a gentleman of Mr. Grenville's character made the ſport of this muſhroom upſtart; a man of whom we may ſay, with Shakeſpeare, "*Take him for all in all, we never ſhall ſee his like again,*" *of* unblemiſhed reputation, *of* known abilities, *and* unſullied integrity; *a man who has conducted the affairs of the nation with the utmoſt reſolution, wiſdom, and prudence; one in whom all the monied men in the kingdom place the moſt perfect confidence, and all honeſt men wiſh to ſee* continued *in the adminiſtration.*

PUB. AD. July 2.

IF the extraordinary paper in the Public Advertiſer of Tueſday laſt, ſigned ANTI-SEJANUS, is not already loſt in the contempt which it deſerves, the above moſt extraordinary ſentences, which I have extracted from it, and choſen for my motto, will be readily remembered.

When thoſe who would be thought great men, condeſcend, without regard to decency or probability, to applaud themſelves in the public papers; or, which is little leſs mean, and even more ridiculous, when they encourage others to make their panegyric for virtues and qualities the leaſt allied to their known imperfections, it naturally excites a more rigorous enquiry into their real characters,

it

naturally calls up a little indignation in honeſt men, who, having had ſagacity enough not to have been cheated by the ſpecious juggle of adminiſtration, will never ſuffer themſelves to be the dupes of the rhetoric of dying ſpeeches and laſt words, or ſnivel at the bed-ſide of an expiring Miniſter.

The late miniſterial junto, which, after having incurred the contempt and hatred of the public, by the uſe they made of their power, are now in hopes of acquiring ſome ſort of popularity in their fall. Whilſt their reign (to uſe the language of their friend the Ordinary) laſted, they knew that we conſidered them for what they were: when they come to meet their deſerts, though they never had our approbation, they hope to move our pity; and that at laſt the good women will cry out, that Jonathan Wild, and George the Sadler, are well timbered men; and that in the cart Jemmy Twitcher has really the air of a Lord.

I do not mean to defame any man; but it is, I hope, no libel to differ from ANTI-SEJANUS, and to profeſs that "*I am* not *ſhocked*, but extremely happy, to ſee the time approach when a *gentleman of Mr. Grenville's character* is to be removed from all power, all management of buſineſs;" and inſtead of a fooliſh application of Shakeſpear's words, to ſay, in the words of every Engliſhman, "That I, and all diſintereſted people who know him and his management, *taking him for all in all, hope we never ſhall look upon his like again* in public buſineſs.

The flatterer ſays, "of *unblemiſhed reputation*, of *known abilities*, and *unſullied integrity*." I take the middle of the ſentence firſt, and ſpeak of *his known abilities*. If it ſhould appear that his wonderful management has brought one of the moſt valuable branches of our trade into that dilemma that it muſt be either totally loſt, or, if regained, may riſque the bringing on a war with Spain, neither his com-

mercial

mercial genius nor his political capacity will be much admired. The Weſt-Indian merchant will know that I allude to the total deſtruction which he, as miniſter, (and perhaps far beyond the legal power of his miniſterial ſituation) prepared for the trade carried on ſo infinitely to our advantage from Jamaica with the Spaniards. If ſuch things as impeachments ſhould come in faſhion, or even if ſimple enquiries ſhould be the taſte of this age of management and humanity, his friends may find themſelves at a loſs how to account for the wiſdom, or to ſupport the honeſty of his conduct. But for my part, I have candour enough to take the moſt moderate ſide of the alternative; and when folly will fairly account for a wrong ſtep in a miniſter, I am unwilling to attribute it to treachery; I therefore only wiſh to deprecate from poſterity the effects of his want of ability, and the bitter fruits of his laborious and meddling ignorance.

This man, who never thought of a regulation in trade but as it was a reſtraint upon it, who has encouraged ſmuggling *to us* by heavy duties, and deſtroyed all ſmuggling *from us* by injudicious reſtrictions; this is the very man whom this paradoxical libeller repreſents in ſuch a degree of favour with the merchants; the man under whom our public credit has been in ſo miſerable a condition, is he who is held up as the favourite of the monied men.

It would be tireſome to enumerate all the inſtances of his incapacity, in the management of our commercial intereſts. It is indeed on all hands agreed, that his delight is to have his fingers black with ink, and to talk about buſineſs *and about it*, till he has rendered his hearers apprehenſions as confuſed as his own. The ignorant part of the world are apt to miſtake labour for induſtry, and plodding for deliberation; but the labour of ſuch a man tends but to fortify him in his ignorance;

and

and his plodding only to take away his power of determination.

I hope I ſhall hear no more of his knowledge from others; and if I might give a word of advice to himſelf, I would perſuade him not to talk ſo much of his own honeſty: for though ſuch diſcourſes may now and then take in a country gentleman, they may make people of experience the more inquiſitive and ſuſpicious. I would adviſe him to appoint other topics to his flatterers in public: they ſhould be ordered to be diſcreet, and not inſiſt too much on the words in the letter, *unblemiſhed reputation*, and *unſullied integrity*; and by no means to miſtake the decency and moderation of their adverſaries, for ſtupidity and want of feeling: for they may force people to mention what very many do not fail to remark; and to bring to light facts, whoſe force can neither be reſiſted nor evaded.

How came it, men will ſay, that at one period Mr. Grenville, deſerting a brother to whom he had very great obligations, and quitting ſome ſeemingly rivetted friendſhips, choſe to adhere to Lord Bute, then as much a favourite as he is now; and Mr. Grenville muſt own, with more power than at preſent. Was it becauſe that favourite was really then in power?

How came he, about two years ſince, to ſpread abroad, as moſt aſſuredly he did, or his aſſociates, a report, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple's unconſcionable demands broke off the treaty in which Mr. Pitt was ſo honourably engaged? How came he and his aſſociates to take on again themſelves to act in ſuch an underling capacity, as their own manifeſto acknowledges they have; and it ſeems by their ſame manifeſto they were ſtill willing to do while they were ſuffered? Was any body ignorant by what means Mr. Grenville and his aſſociates came into power? Is any one ignorant of the part

they

they acted towards the perſon who brought them into power? Did they in their conduct ſhew either the ſpirit of free agents, or the fidelity of inſtruments?

But, it ſeems, Mr. Grenville was weary to death with being regarded as little better than a cypher, while Lord Bute diſpoſed of every place of profit and honour: ſo then this miniſter, whoſe independent ſpirit and ſituation his emiſſaries have been trumpeting about for theſe two laſt years in every coffee-houſe and every news-paper, now turns out, upon his own confeſſion, to have been no more than a cypher. If the ſtate of ſubſerviency in miniſters to a man in private capacity, be, as it certainly is, a ſolid objection to them, then theſe miniſters are (whatever others may be) by their own account unfit for their places; and if they *are weary to death* with them, let them repoſe themſelves in ſome private ſituation, and reſign thoſe offices, in which they confeſs, and in which we always believed, that they *were but very cyphers*. The fate of ſuch miniſterial cyphers is what very little concerns the public: but Lord Bute diſpoſed from theſe cyphers; and if it were true, it is not very wonderful he ſhould, of every place of profit and honour. Not, however, of all, not of every place of profit, not certainly of *every tellerſhip of the Exchequer*. Neither do I apprehend it can be affirmed with any colour of truth, that Lord Bute *ſet to ſale* every office in the American department.

But why theſe grievous complaints which theſe gentlemen make of their inſignificance? We never doubted it; we are no way concerned about it, except in their fatal attempts on liberty and trade; never thought of them otherwiſe. If they have a mind to make a complaint that we ſhould indeed liſten to, of the effect of their ſubſerviency to Lord Bute, let them charge on his influence ſome few at leaſt

leaſt of thoſe actions of theirs, which have loaded them with the deteſtation of the public. Let them prove that it was by Lord Bute's influence that our American trade is ſo crippled, and our colonies ſo alienated in affection from us. Let them prove that it was Lord Bute who iſſued thoſe illegal, oppreſſive, unconſtitutional warrants, and then, by chicane and privilege, obſtructed a legal determination on them. Let them ſhew that it was Lord Bute who at one ſtroke deprived us of ſo many officers of known merit and ſervice, for the freedom of their voices in parliament, on a queſtion concerning thoſe very warrants; on a queſtion in which every thing dear to Engliſhmen was at ſtake. Let them ſhew one of theſe actions to have been influenced by Lord Bute, and then we may be induced to forget our abhorrence of the wickedneſs, in our contempt of the meanneſs of theſe inſtruments, and transfer our indignation to an higher object. If they cannot do this, I believe every honeſt man will join with me in thinking, that thoſe who could make ſuch a uſe of the power they had, had full as much power as they ought.

The merit of Lord Bute, as miniſter, is no queſtion at preſent. But what fault in his adminiſtration is it, that theſe miniſters have ſoftened or corrected? What good is there, in theirs, in which Lord Bute was deficient? Was the public eaſy for a moment for its liberty, its commerce, its manufactures, or its public credit, whilſt they were in office.

They are deep in the ſecret, and they tell us Lord Bute is in favour, and they are not: whether they tell truth in the former part of this intelligence, I know not; I hope, and the public ardently prays, that the latter part of it may be true; if it be, they bleſs Providence, and they thank their Sovereign, that the crown and the ſubject are now unanimous,

and

and that they, who have been ſo long known to the public, are at laſt diſcovered at Court.

We are not yet ſo ungrateful, giddy, and inconſtant as they are pleaſed to think us. We cannot be ſeduced into a ſudden liking for thoſe whom we had ſo long exclaimed againſt, only becauſe they are now as odious to their Sovereign as they are to us. When the public hue and cry, which has never ceaſed to purſue theſe miniſters, has at laſt awakened the indignation of our Sovereign to do juſtice on them, we will not be fooliſh enough to ſupplicate now only pardon, but power for thoſe who have ſunk under our own proſecution.

To crown the intolerable folly of theſe puppet miniſters, they boaſt in their libel, of having added to the reſt of their acts of violence and oppreſſion, the diſmiſſion of Mr. Mackenzie; not becauſe he had offended their Sovereign as an officer, or as a man, or had ever done any act offenſive to them as miniſters, but merely in the ſport of power and inſolence of authority, to ſhew what they could do. Truly this is pretty plain ſpeaking. I, for one, muſt profeſs, that this inſolence of power is to me full as inſufferable, from a man whom neither the King likes, nor the people approve, as from the moſt declared favourite.

Theſe are the men that have the inſolence to attempt to brand thoſe who are now coming in with the general voice of the nation, to reſtore our affairs, as acting in ſubſerviency to that favourite, to whom they themſelves have ſo long been tools and inſtruments. That they have been ſo, though they had denied, inſtead of confeſſing it, we might readily believe. The dependency of their fortunes, the meanneſs of their capacity, their total want of conſideration with the public, rendered them the fitteſt perſons in the world to be ſo.

Is this the caſe with thoſe whom the voice of the public has recommended to their Sovereign? the higheſt rank, the moſt extenſive fortunes, the moſt really unbliſhed characters, the beſt experience in buſineſs, and the firſt talents for it; the defenders and the martyrs of liberty are theſe whom our Sovereign has for ever endeared himſelf to his people by calling to his ſervice.

I do not intend to pay ſo ill a compliment to any of them, as to compare them with thoſe whom they are to ſucceed; let us add, that theſe come in with the avowed approbation and ſupport of that great man, to whom this nation, in the late war, owed that glory and power, which it has been the ſole buſineſs of our late miniſters to depreciate by their diſcourſes, and to deſtroy by their conduct. This arrangement is carried on under the auſpices of a great Prince, whom the diſtreſſes of his King and Country have awakened to a ſecond life; and who now is come to the relief of that crown by his counſels, which he had formerly preſerved by his arms. In vain ſhall ſcribblers endeavour to perſuade us, that the Duke of Cumberland, that the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Duke of Grafton, the Marquis of Rockingham, the families of the Cavendiſhes and Kepples, that Charles Townſhend, General Conway, Sir George Saville, Sir Charles Saunders, are perſons who could, in the way that Mr. Grenville and his aſſociates have been, be made the tools and inſtruments of any favourite.

Of all their calumnies, this is the moſt ſenſeleſs. It is not the effect of the abſurd endeavours of their ſcribblers; no, nor the treacherous Family Compact of two brothers, which can ſhake the firm fabric of his Majeſty's pious love, for the ſafety and ſatisfaction of his people.

There is another Family Compact formed upon other principles, againſt which their cabal muſt be

dashed to pieces; an union of names too sacred to be mentioned with theirs; an union formed upon intentions as much nobler, and of force as much greater, as it is of a dignity superior. Their cabal must be contemptible indeed, when it is neither joined nor countenanced by that great man, to whose alliance alone the Grenville name own their dignity and consideration.

I take no notice of other papers of this Anti-Sejanus, but I may hereafter; for while falshoods are propagated with industry, I shall think it proper to be An Occasional Writer.

I FORESAW from the beginning that one part of my task would be of no long duration. The character, which Mr. Grenville's laborious insignificance, his

"*Pangs without birth, and fruitless industry,*"

had endeavoured to establish of a man of knowledge in public business, as it could not stand the test of the slightest examination, must be, I was certain, soon given up even by his flatterers. My conjecture has been confirmed by the event, and even something earlier than I could have reasonably expected.

I shall therefore leave that gentleman to the innoxious exertion of his laborious genius in the further improvement of his private fortune, and let him gently fall into the lap of that oblivion, into which a mere creature of office must inevitably sink, as soon as ever he is removed from employment.

Before I take my leave, however, of this phantom of a departed minister, I cannot help observing a little upon a most absurd affectation of the flatterers of Mr. Grenville; who taking the advantage of a visit he had paid at Hayes, they now, on all occasions, affect to join his name with Mr. Pitt's, as if some sort of resemblance existed between their

miniſterial characters; or as if there were ſome ſort of agreement between their opinions upon public affairs.

If we were to ſeek for the moſt marked contraſt which could be made out between two characters, either naturally or politically conſidered, I ſuppoſe it would be impoſſible to find any more perfectly fit to be ſet in direct oppoſition to each other, than thoſe of Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt.

As much as a laborious perplexity differs from intuitive penetration, as much as narrowneſs differs from enlargement, as much as meanneſs differs from ſublimity, ſo much do the genius, the temper, the diſpoſitions, and the habits of Mr. Grenville differ from thoſe of Mr. Pitt. And no man who can diſtinguiſh exactneſs from greatneſs, the detail of office from the great circle of politics, or a kingdom from a ſhop, will ever think of ſpeaking of thoſe two perſonages in the ſame breath, either as men or as miniſters.

Their talents and turn of mind do not differ as the greater and the leſs; but are in direct oppoſition to each other. The political opinions of both are known and avowed; let us ſtate and compare them.

Mr. Pitt, along with Great-Britain that enjoys the advantages, and France who feels the loſſes of the late war (as far as the late glorious peace has permitted the one to enjoy, and the other to ſuffer) conſidered the war, and the extent of our conqueſts, as the glory and the preſervation of this country.

Mr. Grenville conſidered the opinion we entertained of the late war, and the value we ſet upon our conqueſts, as the effect of popular madneſs; in all his ſpeeches, and thoſe of his faction, it was always ſpoken of under the appellation of the *unfortunate war*.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt thought we ought to fulfil, with a fidelity worthy of the honour of Great-Britain, all our engagements with a certain great Prince; who, during the late war, by diverting the attention of a vaſt body of our enemies, left the field open to us, to carry our arms victorioufly over every part of the globe.

Mr. Grenville thinks it a wiſe œconomical meaſure, to diſguſt our great ally, by little cavils on the payment of his ſubſidy; and it is his opinion, that the ſaving of half a crown to the ſinking-fund, is a more important object, than the credit of the nation and the affection of our allies.

Mr. Pitt thinks that we ought, by well choſen alliances, to prevent the approach of danger, weaken the connections of France, and maintain the balance of power in our own hands.

Mr. Grenville diſclaims all knowledge of foreign affairs; and thinks no alliance worth the money paid for engroſſing the treaty.

Mr. Pitt thinks that the national ſtock ought to be encreaſed; that our unprovided debt ſhould be eſtabliſhed on proper funds; that the ſinking fund ought to be encreaſed by new ſupplies, and not ſimply by futile ſavings; and that this fund ought to be kept ſacred and inviolable.

Mr. Grenville thinks, that an hundred and forty millions of debt is to be paid by ſaving of pence and farthings; that the unfunded debt ſhould be left to take care of itſelf; that the ſinking fund is to be applied to as a preſent reſource: and that at the ſame time the revenue is to receive no new aid, but what it may derive from his œconomy.

Which of theſe ſyſtems is the right one, I do not pretend to determine. I only ſay they are oppoſite; and that therefore no one can wiſh well to Mr. Grenville's continuance in power, who does not wiſh him further opportunities (to uſe his own

favourite expreſſion) *of trampling on the proud ſpirit of Mr. Pitt.* AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

WHEN I accuſed Mr. G----- of *ignorance* (for I was tender of him) in deſtroying, by wild and childiſh regulations, a moſt valuable branch of trade, I expected from thoſe who undertook his defence, ſome ſort of attempt to prove the one or the other of theſe two points; either that his regulations had no tendency to prejudice that trade, or that this trade was prejudicial to our intereſt: This would have been ſomewhat to the purpoſe. But what do they anſwer to this important charge? Why, they gravely tell us, "he is perſuaded, that Mr. G----- "acted in this particular, as in every other, juſt as he ought." May ſuch miniſters ever find ſuch advocates!

But is it true, that Mr. G—— acted juſt as he ought? Ought a Britiſh miniſter to ſacrifice the Britiſh trade to Spain? Was it in his ſpirit of univerſal œconomy, that Mr. G—— meant to ſave the crown of Spain the expence of their Guarda Coſtas? Ought the miniſter, *by one letter of buſineſs*, to do more miſchief to the trade of his country, than all the invidious vigilance of Spain could have hoped to effect in a century? In this one point alone, Mr. G------'s regulations have had an effect. Did the flatterer, or did the miniſter know, that the trade he laboured to rob us of, has in ſome years been eſtimated at half a million? And will the little œconomy of the ſhop and counter, which, during his adminiſtration, diſgraced the dignity of the firſt crown in Europe, ever replace to the nation, the hundredth part of the loſs ſhe has ſuſtained, by bringing his narrow ideas into an extenſive ſphere of commerce.

Theſe people are throughout, very imprudent; their ſilly defences provoke new charges. How

pleaſant

pleaſant it was in the *bye-ſtander*, to ſtile this gentleman's deſertion of his family, a domeſtic quarrel? It was ſurely upon principles of a *public* nature, upon patriot maxims, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple retired from buſineſs, when they were deſerted by Mr. G------; who then choſe to adhere to the perſon he now inſults; then really and apparently the director of affairs. But that perſon, we muſt confeſs, was alſo then the known channel to profit and court favour. Such an action, if any action can, relates to the *public*.

Before I have done with theſe quondam miniſters, I muſt obſerve to the reader, that our victory over them ſeems in a fair way of being as complete as we could wiſh. Their advocates have already given up two of the junto; they ſay not a word (and indeed I think their ſilence hardly kind in old friends) in favour of the Earls of S----- and H-----. If they could prevail on us to allow Mr. G----- to be ſomething like a miniſter, they would readily compromiſe the matter, and permit us to ſay juſt what we pleaſe of the two noble peers, his late aſſociates in adminiſtration.

Mr. G-----, ſay they, had nothing to do with the general warrants. On this head there is a violent outcry of want of information and candour, raiſed againſt the *Occaſional Writer*: The truth is, the *Occaſional Writer* never charged theſe warrants to Mr. G-----'s *particular* account: He was indeed not aware of this curious method which the late miniſters are fallen into of diſclaiming each others actions, and which they have been taught by their friend, Mr. —— —— ——, from the practice of the Old Bailey. We charged on the whole gang the actions of thoſe who compoſed it; but we beg pardon, and ſhall be more preciſe for the future. We will indict them ſeparately; and carefully diſtinguiſh

tinguiſh the abettor from the actor, and the receiver from the thief.

I leave Mr. G—— to ſettle with his friends the point of civility in this diſclaim of their actions. Is this the *man of unſullied integrity*, who thus diſclaims the act of his aſſociates; and becauſe he happened not officially to have iſſued the warrants, now pretends not to have been at all concerned in them?

But does he think we have all forgot his headlong violence, when in the zenith of his power he dared to brand the unanimous and deliberate judgment of the Court of Common Pleas (and which is now the judgement of the King's-bench alſo) with the epithet of precipitate. Surely that man is more guilty who has the inſolence to condemn the judgment of the law on thoſe unconſtitutional warrants, than he who, before the judgment, had the temerity originally to iſſue them. It proves that the maxims of tyranny and oppreſſion have caſt their pernicious roots deep in his mind.

It is curious enough to obſerve how the late miniſtry, taken in their iniquity, ſhift their guilt from hand to hand, and mutually condemn each other. When it is ſhewn that Mr. G—— hurt your trade, he anſwers, he never iſſued illegal warrants. Object the illegal warrants to Lord H——, he'll tell you he was not concerned in the deſtruction of your trade. If the other noble Lord is charged for having firſt ſeduced, and then impeached his friend and companion, he will boaſt that he never put up to ſale the offices in the ſouthern department.---His Lordſhip's was the northern department.

An Occasional Writer.

WHEN nothing could be objected to the integrity, the capacity, the paſt conduct, or the apparent deſigns of the preſent miniſters, the tools of diſappointed ambition were for ſome time at a loſs.

Their

Their inclination to calumny was as good as poſſible, but there was a dreadful deficiency of matter to go upon. To lie, would have coſt them nothing, but to lie with any ſort of appearance of truth, was the grand deſideratum. The tale of ſubſerviency to Lord B——, was loathſome, groſs, and dull; they indeed chained *Anti-Sejanus* to that oar, with orders to tug at it without intermiſſion, whether he made any way or not, becauſe they knew he was good for nothing elſe; that it kept him at leaſt from doing them miſchief, by wandering beyond the extent of his capacity; and that it ſerved to fill ſpace in the papers, untill they could think of ſomething more to the purpoſe to inſiſt upon.

At length, after much conſultation between their malice and their cunning, they found out a charge ſo weighty in point of criminality, and ſo undeniable in point of fact, that the new miniſters muſt inevitably ſink under it.

With great exertion therefore of chronological knowledge, (attained I ſuppoſe by Mr. George Grenville's deep and profitable reſearches in the pariſh regiſter with ſome ſkill in phyſiognomy, and much labour, they happily diſcovered, and in due time they brought to light this portentous charge, which was to ſtand them inſtead of all other objections, that ſome perſons in the new miniſtry were *young*.

With equal ſhame and ſorrow (but not without hopes of amendment) they muſt confeſs this charge; and, I fear, that with the old adminiſtration, and with that large and reſpectable part of the nation which follows them, this charge amounts to a total diſqualification for all public employments.

Candour obliges me to admit, that theſe old politicians have ſomething like reaſon on their ſide. *Young men* are known to be rude and untractable;

they have ſeldom the happy diſpoſition of bending their minds and adjuſting their principles to all the exigencies of miniſterial arrangements.

It will be ſome time before you can perſuade any of theſe *children* in the *ragion del ſtato*, to blaſpheme at night, and to cant in the morning; to play the profligate at the beef-ſteak club, and the ſaint in the Houſe of Peers; to lead their friend by encouragement and *example* to violate the laws and afterwards to take the lead in impeaching him for the participation of their own crimes. *Young men* will not be quite adroit in this knack of office; they will not know that it belongs eſſentially to the department of a *Secretary of State*, to act occaſionally as an *informer*. *Young men* are too ignorant to know, that ſuch conduct is, in the ſtate, ſound politicks; and in private ſociety, wit and humour. Theſe accompliſhments are in the moſt happy geniuſes only to be acquired by *time*, by *experience*; and in theſe qualifications I fear, that both the young and the old part of our new adminiſtration are woefully deficient.

It will be, I doubt, a good while before theſe *young men* can acquire thoſe grand political noſtrums, which forty years experience had purchaſed to our late miniſters; I mean the art of improving our *revenue* by the deſtruction of our *trade*; the plan of paying old debts by contracting new ones; the method of ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject by general warrants; the furtherance of juſtice by the uſe of privilege and eſſoign; impartiality in the diſpoſal of employments, by ſetting them up to the higheſt bidder. Our preſent miniſters are yet too *young* to be admitted into theſe *greater myſteries* of State; their youth and inexperience is indeed to be pitied, and unhappy is the nation in which ſuch perſons have any power!

Strange

Strange as it may ſeem, there are, however, a ſet of odd folks (*children, I ſuppoſe*) that judge upon quite a different ſtandard; thoſe perſons, pretty numerous too, combining the principles and the conduct with the years of the old miniſters, think their advanced age an objection inſuperable to that corps of political veterans. Taking the new miniſtry in the ſame point of view, they conſider the youth of thoſe who have ſpent their few years in defence of our liberty, as a circumſtance in their favour, and which the public regards with much ſatisfaction.

We are ſure that our late miniſters were corrupt and rotten in their principles; blundering and prepoſterous in their conduct. Have we any hopes, if they are ſuch at fifty, that they will mend at fourſcore? There are ſome faults which age is never known to correct. One great and noble perſon in that adminiſtration may indeed at fourſcore leave off his practice of bartering for the wives of his fellow-ſubjects with the favour of his ſovereign; he may then leave off purchaſing adultery by breach of truſt, and ſatisfy himſelf with a ſimple ſale of offices for money. But age will never induce him to ſhew more reſpect for our laws and liberties, or inſpire him with a greater liking to the honeſt freedom of the preſs.

Another great man may at that age no longer continue to cultivate the whole encyclopedia of debauchery; he may confine himſelf to the making ſome ſingle wretch miſerable and vicious by his ſuperannuated lewdneſs; age may be a more effectual preſervative than even *his Lordſhip's own recipe* againſt *his* foul diſeaſes; but it will never take away his infidelity, or render him a ſafe companion, a faithful friend, or a virtuous miniſter. A third great perſonage may perhaps begin to find the preſent wild violence of his temper ſubſide into an habitual peviſhneſs; but he will never be ſoftened into com-

paſſion

paſſion for the cries of the poor, or be made to regard the ſufferings of our ſtarving manufacturers with the ſmalleſt ſenſation of pity.

How the great oracle of that faction, the long-winded orator, is likely to improve as he grows old, I am yet to learn. In the firſt place, age is not generally taken to be a corrector of tediouſneſs and prolixity in diſcourſe. Nor do I ſee how, if he now kills his hearers with his periods of a mile, a thouſand times repeated, that it is to be hoped at ſeventy he will grow lively, conciſe and ſententious.

If at fifty he is formal, pedantic, exact, and ſtudious of trifles, but blind to every thing great and comprehenſive, it is ſcarcely to be expected that he will grow more liberal and manly as he verges towards dotage.

Theſe are the reaſons why ſome few millions of odd thinkers object to the late miniſters on account of their advanced *age*, when connected with characters and a conduct ſuch as theirs. Theſe ſame men, when they conſider the characters and conduct of the preſent miniſters, rejoice in the circumſtances of the youth of ſome of them, and wiſh the charge was true of all.

When they conſider their boundleſs generoſity of ſentiment, their rectitude of heart and underſtanding, their ſtrenuous love of liberty, their affectionate adherence to his Majeſty's royal Houſe, their perfect harmony with each other, reſulting from their perfect freedom from all low paſſions, they cannot help rejoicing on the proſpect, that theſe diſpoſitions will be long employed in the public ſervice, and that there is time to mature their virtues by experience; and to improve into public bleſſings thoſe qualities, which lately gave them the hearts of the people in a private ſtation.

Thus, Sir, theſe odd thinkers, the people of England, eſtimate matters; they leave the old miniſtry

to

to meditate in obſcurity on thoſe ſtate noſtrums, on which they ſo properly value themſelves, and leave them to try their efficacy in quieting the anguiſh of their wounded conſciences: let them (if they can) ſleep in quiet, whilſt every Engliſhman may now at length hope to enjoy ſome repoſe under a *young* adminiſtration, not hackneyed in the ways of corruption; free from the impending horrors of illegal warrants againſt his perſon, of arbitrary and cruel fines againſt his fortune, and without perpetual alarms for the public credit and commerce of his country from the indefatigable bungling of a financial mountebank. AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

IT is by no means ſurpriſing, that thoſe who have ſo long trampled with impunity on our laws, liberties and commerce, ſhould entertain but a mean opinion of our ſpirit and underſtanding. The late miniſters while they continued in power, treated us like ſlaves; ſince they have been out of power, they conſider the whole Britiſh nation as a mob.

It is impoſſible upon any other principle, to conceive how they could have thought of ordering the heralds and trumpeters of their faction to deliver to us, in their names, ſuch meſſages as we have lately received from them.

The public, for a conſiderable time, has been upon an enquiry into the conduct of thoſe miniſters, on the moſt important of all ſubjects. We had, during their adminiſtration, ſeen perſonal liberty attacked, the liberty of Parliament outraged, commerce injured, and our colonies, by a ſeries of meaſures at once violent and impotent, exaſperated even to ſedition and revolt.

Inſtead of giving the public any ſatisfaction in theſe points, (ſurely very material for us to underſtand, and for them to explain) the late miniſters have thought it proper to entertain us daily for theſe three

three months paſt with a ſtory of a quarrel of theirs, (I know not whether real or pretended) with the Earl of Bute. In one of their libels they have ſome time ſince avowedly and explicitly told us, that all the other points of enquiry are wholly foreign to the purpoſe; and that this ſquabble of theirs with the Earl of Bute, is the only object worthy of the public attention.

It is, indeed, natural enough for them, who conſider public employment only as private emolument, to look no farther than to the cauſes which influenced their coming in or their going out of office; and, as they imagine that Lord Bute has operated on the one or the other of thoſe events, to choak him with fulſome panegyric, as they did formerly; or to pelt him with illiberal Billingſgate, as they do at preſent.

But there has always been, and, thank God, there ſtill is, a wide difference between their opinions and thoſe of all honeſt men upon every particular of public buſineſs. We cannot be perſuaded to paſs by the conduct of miniſters as a matter of no importance, and to attach ourſelves ſolely to the anecdote and intrigue of their changes and removes. We are not yet ſo groſs and brutiſh in our underſtandings. We are not yet ſo dulled by the indignities we have ſuffered under their adminiſtration.

Nothing can ſerve better to let us at once into the true ſpirit of their cabal, than the late writings in their favour. By thoſe it plainly appears, that they have ſo totally obliterated from their own minds every idea of the duty of their late ſtation, that they ſeem not to think that ſuch ideas have any exiſtence in ours. For three months they have daily poured out abuſe on Lord Bute; yet they have not ſaid a ſingle ſyllable in cenſure of his *miniſterial conduct*. They have been earneſtly endea-

vouring

vouring to recommend themſelves to the public, yet they have hardly uttered a word in praiſe, or even in defence of their own *meaſures*. They have been inceſſant in their invectives againſt the preſent miniſtry; yet they have been abſolutely ſilent on the *conduct* of thoſe who compoſe it, either in parliament or in adminiſtration.

They know every thing about an adminiſtration, except its duty. They tell the ſuffering public tales of a Favourite, and of ſecret influence; they entertain you with anecdotes of a conference on one day, of a meſſage on another, of a negotiation on a third. They tell you of lighting up the *Monument*, and of hanging it in mourning. Theſe are the diſhes they have ſeaſoned to our palates, from the meagre meſſes of *Anti-Sejanus*, to the heavy Olio of the *Son of Candour*.

But it were to be wiſhed that thoſe miniſters who entertain us with ſo many ſtories of Lord Bute, would at laſt do us the favour to ſay ſome few words of his political meaſures; that they would acquaint us a little with the oppoſition they made to thoſe meaſures; or if they made no oppoſition, that they would give us ſome aſſurance of their repentance for the part they took in their execution. When we approve their conduct, or accept their penitence, we may poſſibly come to adopt their reſentments. Untill then it muſt be very indifferent to the public, in what manner the tools of Lord Bute think they have been treated by their maſter workman. On the other hand, until we ſee the preſent ſervants of the Crown imitate his meaſures, we ſhall never believe that they are guided by his influence. As to their predeceſſors, it becomes them, indeed, to rail at Lord Bute. The domeſtics of every great man are beſt acquainted with the weak parts of his character. All we know is, that without partaking of any thing that may deſerve praiſe in his

diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, they are certainly deep in every thing for which the public has cenſured his conduct.

When they firſt broke the ſhell, and appeared as unfledged miniſters, under his parental wing, pecking at politics, the firſt act we ſaw them engaged in, was in the planning, purſuing and compleating the treaty of Paris. The Duke of Bedford negociated it; Lord Halifax ſigned it; George Grenville defended it.

Their writers have indeed lately condeſcended to inform us, that it was not without a world of force, and the moſt poſitive and deſpotic orders from Lord Bute, that they were perſuaded to do, what by their apology they confeſs to be, the dirty work of that peace.

As the apology, whether built on truth or falſehood, is very conſiſtent with the meanneſs of their minds and the ſlaviſh dependency of their ſituation, I will let it go for what it will carry, with thoſe who know any thing of the nature of our conſtitution, or the duty of thoſe who act in a reſponſible character. I will ſuppoſe (ſince they will have it ſo) that they received orders of the ſame kind with regard to the *cyder exciſe*. The injunctions, I will grant, were little leſs peremptory in the general maſſacre which was executed, during their adminiſtration, of ſubſerviency through every department of office.

As to this period of their adminiſtration, we will compound matters with the gentlemen; and, in conſideration of their miſerable dependence, we will put the whole blame of their joint conduct to the ſeparate account of Lord Bute. There was, however, (at leaſt they told us there was) a time when they were enfranchiſed from their ſervitude, and ſet up the miniſterial traffic in their own name. It is, I ſuppoſe, upon their conduct at this latter period, that they wiſh to join iſſue, and to put

themſelves

themſelves upon their trial before God and their country.

Let us then call evidence to their conduct at this period; if they will condeſcend for a moment to allow us to think that the character of miniſters is to be eſtimated by their conduct. But before we enter into the rigour of this enquiry, we will allow them, quite clear of examination, as much time as they can wiſh, to *ſcramble for reverſions*, and to convert every thing to the emolument of their families, which the patronage of their offices entruſted to them, to be employed for the good of the ſervice. This was a procedure ſo natural to the Grand Financier, and to a late noble perſon nearly connected with him in affinity, politics, and character, that no body in the leaſt wondered at it. It could not, however, wholly eſcape obſervation, that within a few months, thoſe two perſons hooked into their family, no leſs than four lucrative reverſions; and pillowed the cradles of their infant children with offices which uſed to be the repoſe and reward of long ſervice to the public. By this proceeding they not only injured and abuſed all preſent deſert, but ſtunted and ſtarved the growth of future merit, by converting its reward into a family inheritance. They gave avarice the ſtart of principle in their offſpring. They carefully formed their tender minds to a diſregard of the public ſervice, and to an abuſe of the public money; thus, to the beſt of their power, laying the weight of their own characters on the loins of poſterity, and perpetuatiug corruption from generation to generation.

It would ſeem no ſlight aggravation of this ſtrange voracity of office, that one of the illuſtrious brothers ſince dead was actually in poſſeſſion of an over-grown eſtate, and the other not only in poſſeſſion at one and the ſame time, of the two greateſt employments in the kingdom, with a vaſt field

of

of fortune before him in the vigour of his age; but was alſo in moſt aſſured expectation of a title and a great family eſtate, from a brother without children.

No body, I hope, can accuſe the Occaſional Writer of want of candour, when he puts theſe particulars wholly out of the queſtion in an enquiry into the conduct of this junto. He was willing in the former caſe to allow much for *ſituation*; he thinks it in this no leſs proper, to allow a great deal for *conſtitution*. In thoſe points, where fortune was in queſtion, the experienced Financier and his brother-in-law could not be ſuppoſed to be accountable, becauſe they could not be ſuppoſed perfectly poſſeſſed of free agency.

But when the Financier had, as in duty bound, given in the firſt place a proper attention to his private fortune, let us ſee what he did for the public, being now *hors de page*, acting for himſelf, and from himſelf.

To ſhew his abhorrence of the ſyſtem of the Favourite, to whoſe perſon he profeſſes now ſo violent an antipathy, the firſt thing we might have expected, was to ſee him reſtore to their offices ſome few at leaſt of thoſe who had been ſacrificed in ſo unprecedented a manner, whilſt he had acted only an under part in buſineſs, in order not only to relieve the innocent victims, but to ſtamp an indeliable cenſure on the practice itſelf. This maſſacre of office had undoubtedly been the moſt exceptionable part of the conduct of Lord Bute. To rectify it ought to have been the moſt leading feature in Mr. George Grenville's, if he meant either to demonſtrate his freedom of action, or his equity in the uſe of that freedom.

But did he give the public this ſatisfaction, or any ſatisfaction at all?—quite the reverſe. He ratified the acts of his predeceſſor, and he extended the example. Notwithſtanding the havock which had

had been made in the *civil offices*, whilſt the prudent financier played the ſecond fiddle, the *military* had been thought ſafe, and the nation hoped they might ſtill enjoy the ſervice of good officers, though they had perſevered in being alſo good members of Parliament. Lord Bute had never proceeded thus far. This was deſtined to be one of the great inſtances which the Grenville adminiſtration was to give of a manly ſpirit, and of their having ſhaken off the yoke of all ſecret dependance. And this noble inſtance of his independency was given at the trivial expence of the freedom of Parliament, the diſcipline of the army, and the fortune of meritorious individuals. But the freedom of your Parliament, the diſcipline of your army, and the hand of oppreſſion on your private property, are things of no conſequence to you, or to theſe candidates for your favour. The *groſs Financier* will tell you a ſtory of Lord Bute. It *will* be intereſting; it *will not* be tedious; I pray you not to yawn at it.

Under the adminiſtration of Lord Bute all private houſes (I mean all thoſe houſes which had eſcaped the inquiſition of that exciſe which Mr. Grenville defended, adopted and ſettled on us) were ſecure. But under the adminiſtration of Mr. Grenville, of his brother-in-law, and of his friends, we were preſented with a maſter ſtroke of executive juſtice, which would not have ſhamed the moſt arbitrary government in its moſt arbitrary exertions. The annals of France cannot furniſh an inſtance of *a Lettre de Cachet* which made ſo general and ſo undiſtinguiſhing a ſweep.

I know that the Secretaries of State, as a full apology for their conduct in this particular, are pleaſed to alledge, that tho' they betrayed the *conſtitution*, they were true to the *file*; and though they wandered wide from the *law*, yet they ſtuck moſt faith-

fully and reverently to the old venerable *forms and precedents of office.*

I am not often ſtaggered with the arguments of theſe gentlemen. This, however, I confeſs, has ſomething of an appearance of force. Firſt, Becauſe it has a ſort of a *preſcriptive right*, being exactly the ſame which has been from time immemorial uſed in ſimilar caſes. It was the ſtrong argument in favour of *ſhip-money*. It was the defence of the courſe of the *Star-Chamber*; it was the ſhield of the diſpenſing power; and will, indeed, for ever prove to be the defence in caſes, where office is oppoſed to duty, and practice to law. For evil practices muſt be older than laws, and the violation of laws, when they are eſtabliſhed, muſt ſtill be very frequent. So that, as far as *precedent* can juſtify, miniſters, who trample on the rights and privileges of the people, can never be at a loſs for a juſtification.

I obſerve ſecondly, That this conſideration, tho' it does not alleviate the faultineſs of the action itſelf, takes off much of their guilt in committing it. For, according to their way of thinking, this tenaciouſneſs of old abſurdities is not only innocent, but meritorious; a thouſand times have they declared, that an experience, in ſuch *office forms*, as General Warrants, Eſſoins, and the true pleading of privilege, are the chief, if not the ſole qualification of a miniſter; and their principal objection to the perſons who have ſucceeded to their places, is their ſuppoſed ignorance of ſuch uſeful forms. Let the *experienced* miniſters entrench themſelves in their knowledge of office forms, and their ignorance of the conſtitution; they ſhall not, I am ſure, be diſturbed in that ſtrong hold by me.

But then, as I paſs by this reſpectable fortreſs, I muſt, by way of ſalute, beg leave to remind them, that they were not inſtructed in the uſe of theſe office forms, ſo favourable to liberty and juſtice,

by

by Lord Bute; and that their ſubſerviency to him at one period, their betraying him at another, or their invectives againſt him at a third, do not make any change at all in the nature of their proceeding on that memorable occaſion, nor in our judgment upon it. We talk of law and juſtice; and they tell us—a ſtory of a Favourite.

I ſhall alſo humbly beg leave to lay before them, that though the Secretaries of State may be very ſnug in that fortreſs of office, for having *iſſued* the Warrants, the ſtrength of that fortreſs will not altogether ſecure theirs or Mr. George Grenville's character, eſpecially Mr. Grenville's, for having publicly defended the uſe of ſuch Warrants, and for having employed every method of force and fraud, of parliamentary and of legal chicanery, to prevent either a parliamentary or a judicial determination on them; to prevent public or private ſatisfaction for ſo flagrant a violation of public and of private right.

The iſſuing of the Warrants might have been only a blunder; a blunder very incident to *experienced miniſters*, but the manner of conducting themſelves afterwards, manifeſted a rooted malignity to the law; it is well known in what an indecent and outrageous manner our cool, experienced Financier fell upon the juſtice of the nation for having dared to utter blaſphemies againſt his great idols, *unmeaning formality* and *blind practice*. "But we are to "forget our laws and our courts;—theſe are dull "topics—have you no anecdote from Wooburn? "No new ſtory from the new temple of *Truth and* "*Concord* at Stow? What, talk all this time of our "liberties, and nothing of the Favourite?"

Perhaps it would be edifying, my City friend, to hear a little more of this ſame Favourite. For variety, however, ſuppoſe we were to look a little into the preſent ſerious ſtate of our affairs. What if we

ſhould beſtow an idle moment in ſome attention to the condition of our manufacturing towns, now threatened with beggary and deſolation by the Knight Errantry of the Grand Financier, who has ſubverted every principle of our American commerce by his univerſal and indiſcriminate war againſt ſmuggling? A ſcheme for its dignity, almoſt equal to the capacity of a Britiſh tide-waiter; for its malignity to the trade of Great Britain, worthy of a Prime Miniſter to the Family Compact.

There was a time, when your trade ſeemed a matter of as much importance as a Court anecdote; but now things are changed—When the thouſands of your periſhing manufactures call to the experienced Financier for the commerce which plentifully nouriſhed them and their children, he tells them "he has quarrelled with Lord Bute;—they may go "home and be filled." Such is the language addreſſed by the Grand Financier to the underſtandings of your politicians, and to the neceſſities of your poor!

But admitting your trade in the new ſyſtem of finance to be a thing of no ſort of moment, ſhall we for that reaſon paſs over with perfect unconcern that other happy ſcheme, which for a paltry and precarious profit (ultimately to be wrung from our own manufactures) has torn, perhaps for ever, from this mother country, the affection and reverence of her colonies. What does that *knowing and experienced* miniſter ſay, when he ſees that his meaſures have ſet all America in a blaze? And the Britiſh government brought to that paſs by his councils, that if the public confidence in the preſent miniſtry does not reſcue us, we ſtand in the miſerable alternative of ſuffering the authority of G. B. to be trampled under foot, or our ſword, but juſt ſheathed after the preſervation, to be drawn afreſh, to the ruin of our colonies. But the people of *Athens*, in

in the moſt important criſis of their affairs, were anxious to hear how a Muleteer diſpoſed of the ſhadow of his aſs; and ſome of the people of this metropolis are extremly curious to learn how the late Umbras of adminiſtration were put in or out by Lord Bute.

Falſely ſuppoſing this diſpoſition to be general, the diſcarded adminiſtration preſume, amidſt our ſerious diſcuſſions and bitter feelings, to inſult us with idle tales and childiſh anecdotes of their diſmiſſion: That diſmiſſion is, indeed, their ſole concern; but it is no concern at all of ours how they agreed or diſagreed with Lord Bute; we want to know this, and this alone; how their conduct agreed or diſagreed with the commerce, the welfare, the tranquility, and the liberty of the country.

I do not, indeed, wonder, that thoſe who put *office forms* in the place of *laws*, ſhould conſider the anecdote of a Court faction as the fundamentals of politics. But if they mean to give their *private hiſtory* any ſort of weight, let them proceed like men. Let them firſt ſpeak to the *meaſures* of Lord B. whilſt they acted under him. Let them ſhew how culpable thoſe meaſures were, and how reſolutely they oppoſed them. Let them ſhew, when they betrayed their maſter into a reſignation of his power, that they repaired the errors of his conduct, and proved that they merited their freedom by the generous uſe they made of it. When they have done this, we may poſſibly be at leiſure to enquire into the *ſecret hiſtory* of their diſmiſſion: and we may lay by Mrs. Manly's in order to take up the Earl of Sandwich's *New Atalantis*.

But puſh them from poſt to poſt, ſtill their maturity and experience never leaves theſe great men without a work to cover them. They own their exaltation by L. B. They allow their connection with him, they confeſs their ſubſerviency to him.

But they have a ſalvo for all, they aſſert they have betrayed him, and they think they have abundantly apologized for their freedom from all public virtue, by proving that they were equally free from all private honour. Theſe are the men who are to free us from the yoke of clandeſtine influence; who are to reſtore the nation to reſpect abroad, and to tranquility at home!

As to the public, I truſt they will leave theſe reſpectable perſonages to their lying anecdotes, their ſcurrilous railings, and their mutual accuſations. The public will, indeed, watch the preſent miniſters, becauſe they have often been deluded by ſpecious pretences; but they will not prognoſticate evil conduct from any perſons only for having been the objects of ſcurrilous railing, becauſe they have been often abuſed by factious and malicious calumny. They have ſome experience of the perſons who compoſed the laſt adminiſtration, and of thoſe who compoſe the preſent; they have ſeen the one ſubſervient, the other free: The one carrying on the moſt deſtructive meaſures, the other ſtrenuouſly oppoſing them. The parliamentary abilities of many now in adminiſtration, were as diſtinguiſhed as the uſe to which they were directed was honourable; and as to their abilities in public buſineſs, I believe one may appeal, with great ſafety, to the judgement of all thoſe who have had buſineſs to tranſact with any of them! Their taſk, indeed, is difficult. We will not, I hope, render it more ſo by aiming to withdraw from them any part of that public confidence which they ſo deſervedly poſſeſs at preſent; by liſtening to a tale of influence, totally unſupported by any probability in the facts, or by any authority in the relators; a tale which is adverſe to the whole tenor of the moſt virtuous lives, and the moſt unſpotted characters in the kingdom.

I have

I have in this paper taken notice of the uſe which the diſcarded miniſters have made of the name of Lord *Bute* in this ſtrange controverſy. In my next, I ſhall obſerve on the uſe which they attempt to make of Mr. *Pitt*'s; and of the pretended connection between him, and the late miniſters, on which their writers have been pleaſed to lay ſo great a ſtreſs. It may, perhaps, be found, that thoſe gentlemen will have as little reaſon to value themſelves on the latter of theſe expedients, as on the former.

AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

I NOW propoſe to give you ſome obſervations on the uſe, which the fallen adminiſtration have thought proper to make of the name of Mr. Pitt.

Thoſe gentlemen had been conſcious from the beginning, that they could uſe no better policy, than to keep their own names as much as poſſible out of the preſent diſputes. Wiſe in their generation, they were ſenſible that their ſafety lay in their obſcurity; and as they were at firſt rendered politically important, purely on account of their natural inſignificance, they repoſe at this time alſo in the aſſured hope, that the very ſame principle, which produced ſtrength out of weakneſs, and honour out of contempt, may be again the means of their reſurrection to place and profit. They truſt that, as formerly, they may croud in with the train, and page the heels of ſome real miniſter. They preſume that, as they gave the fulleſt proof of their docility in acting under Lord Bute, the ſame diſpoſition may recommend them to the ſame ſhare of power under Mr. Pitt; and that in time, by betraying their ſecond as they did their firſt maſter, they may, upon their own bottom, play again the miniſterial part, to their own great emolument, and to the utter ruin of their country.

On theſe principles their advocates have been ordered very early to fill their papers with the names of Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute, as the grand ſubjects of their daubing and their Billingſgate; but, in general, to keep the names of their directors quiet and in the ſhade; taking care, however, now and then, but with modeſty and caution, to hint, how glad they ſhould be to ſhew themſelves the very humble ſervants of Mr. Pitt; how willing to aid him with *their* experience, and to act their *old part* under the ſhield of his popularity.

If this game ſhould fail them, ſtill their procedure would, they flatter themſelves, be productive of ſome good effects; if it ſhould not ſucceed in bringing them into power, it might help to make them a little leſs deſpicable in oppoſition. Knowing into what an abyſs of contempt and odium they had fallen, they never dare, in their own characters, to oppoſe the King's ſervants, but appear in the field againſt them with borrowed arms; with the arms of thoſe to whom they have hitherto ſtood in the moſt marked defiance, and who, on their part, have always expreſſed the ſtrongeſt contempt of their perſons, and the greateſt abhorrence of their practices.

That this proceeding is not altogether irrational in them, I muſt readily admit; for I cannot deny them to be as expert in all the trick of party, as they are dull and uniformed in every point of real national politics.

The name of Pitt is juſtly venerable to every Engliſh ear; it is a name, which muſt give credit and ſtrength to any *new* adminiſtration, with which he may be ſuppoſed to co-operate; and it is no wonder at all, that the *old* adminiſtration ſhould now diligently aim at procuring, what it would be the greateſt of wonders, if by any diligence they ſhould ever acquire.

But

But finely and closely as they supposed this web of their policy to be wrought, there were some very material flaws in it, which would never suffer it to wear well: for, after all, if they should succeed in persuading the public, that it was possible Mr. Pitt could take a part with them in their system, they would certainly not be a whit the better for it; what would it do but destroy the credit of that character, upon which they affect to derive some popularity upon their own? Their worst invectives, matured by three years practice of vilifying that respectable name, could never fix so foul a stain upon him as their pretended friendship.

Let the reader survey the picture these great masters draw of a character, which all of us at present look up to with reverence; and let us see what manner of man the great Commoner must be, if he is become one of them.

To qualify a person to act with any set of men, there must be some assimulation of character, some agreement in opinion and principles, some habits of friendship, some degree at least of mutual respect and confidence. On the supposition of this astonishing coalition (for the late ministers have given no sort of proof of their having at all changed their minds) Mr. Pitt must make a total change in every part of his political character, and, in my opinion, no small one in his moral.

In order to qualify him for this regeneration, it will, in the first place, be absolutely requisite that he assume the habit and language of a compleat penitent; and that he cast far from him all the insolent laurels and ostentatious trophies of the war. He must humble and abase himself in proportion to his former exaltation. He must put on sackcloth and ashes, and, with the Duke of B———, weep over the successes of our arms. He must learn to lower his manly tone, and chime in with George

G———

G——— in his ſtile of the Unfortunate Wars, and, like gentle Echo, return to the Gentle Shepherd, groan for groan. He muſt then concur with both theſe gentlemen, and with the two *ſpirited* M--nt--g's in their opinion, that the peace was honourable, *adequate*, and ſecure. He muſt publiſh his abomination of that abandoned opinion, in which he conſidered, and ſpoke of, their great work of pacification as no better *than an armed truce.*

He muſt alſo totally renounce all his doctrines of the propriety, and much more of the neceſſity of forming any alliance on the continent, in order to balance the weight of the Family Compact: he muſt deſpiſe the German Princes, affront the King of Pruſſia, and abandon the external care of Great Britain to the protection of chance and the Smuggling Cutters.

When he ſhall have thus prepared himſelf by the adoption of ſound and truly Grenvillian opinions, in the great points of peace, war, and alliance, and thrice purified himſelf by baptiſm and ſouſing over head and ears in the *latices fontis Averni*; he muſt, then, with a docile and tractable mind, begin to take this leſſon from the great Myſtagogue, the grand Financier himſelf, in his interior doctrines of law, policy, revenue, and commerce.

The Great Commoner will be at firſt a little backward, I fear; but he muſt ſwallow it, and learn ſtoutly to term the opinion of his friend Pratt in ſupport of liberty, and the conſtitution, *raſh and precipitate.* He muſt ſoften the rigour of his former ſentiments about General Warrants, and conſider them not as a violation of law, but as a ſort of refinement on the conſtitution. He muſt think *privilege of parliament* a deteſtable thing, and to the laſt degree oppreſſive when applied to libels; but extremely proper, juſt, and reaſonable, when uſed to

prevent

prevent a determination *on actions brought in favour of the liberty of the ſubject.*

As to the public debt, he is to commit its diſcharge to the ſole care and direction of *œconomy*; he muſt think of nothing day or night but *ſmuggling*, and lay it down as a fundamental principle, that trade flouriſhes like fruit-trees on a wall, by pruning, binding, cramping, and drawing down its branches. He muſt, above all things, adore and look up to the *ſtamp-duty* as a maſter-piece of colony government; and if this lenient and moſt ſeaſonable act ſhould happen to enflame our provinces and ruin our trade, he muſt ſet all perfectly to rights by the plain and eaſy expedient of a few long ſpeeches, interlarded with not a few falſhoods; and by crying Rebellion, as loud as he can bawl.

The imputation of rebellion, he muſt ſwear will give hope to a diſtreſſed people, that their grievances will be redreſſed. He muſt believe that perſuading the world, that your colonies are in rebellion, will be the ſureſt means of perſuading your neighbours to a ſpeedy performance of the few obligations which the peace had bound them to, and which the confidence our good neighbours entertained in the late miniſtry made them hope never to be obliged to fulfil: and he muſt learn to think it unhandſome, and unreaſonable, to preſs our good neighbours to any act which they do not reliſh, and to payments which they cannot afford to make.

When he has done all this, he will then, and he will not until then, be fit to co-operate in the ſyſtem of the old adminiſtration; to act, in ſhort, with thoſe who have for this half year paſt been claiming, and theſe five years paſt abuſing him. To act with Sir Fletcher N—t—n, the D— of B———, R———d Rugby, the E—rls of S——— and H———, Philip C—rt—t W—bb, and G— G———.

So

So far as to meaſures. As to men, he muſt careſs and praiſe theſe heros we have juſt reviewed, who have ever ſet their faces againſt him, deteſted his maxims, vilified his character, reviled his perſon, and ſtood in the moſt marked oppoſition and defiance to his meaſures; and he muſt blacken, traduce, oppoſe, ridicule, and diſtreſs the men, who never have departed from the generous and manly opinions they held in common with him; who always loved his perſon, adored his character, purſued his ideas, lamented his abſence from the ſcene of buſineſs, and now wiſh nothing more ardently, than that he would forward, with his aſſiſtance, thoſe plans they aim at forming in ſtrict conformity to his ſentiments.

I never went over any thing with more pain, than the detail and finiſhing of the above monſtrous piece, which is, however, no more than drawing out at length, that picture which the late adminiſtration had given in miniature of the great Commoner, when they ſaid he was their friend.

But it is not true, of Mr. Pitt, it never can be poſſible; for the credit of integrity and virtue, for the ſake of his, which is connected with the national honour, I never can believe it. It becomes *them* indeed to lower all characters—beggars are always levellers! But, Sir, for all who have the ſmalleſt ſtake in public eſtimation, it behoves them to ſtand out, and not to ſuffer the firſt character of his age to be thus baſely traduced and vilified. Indeed their taſk will not be difficult. Already the enemy deſpairs of the ſucceſs of his expedient, and has ordered his myrmidons (indeed to do this coſts them nothing) to unſay all that they have ſaid; and after their violent and affected outcry for Mr. Pitt, to aſſure the public, that Mr. Pitt has had his hour, and is paſſed away; that he is no miniſter for this time; and that it is not a man of talents and ſpirit, but

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an orderly and diligent accomptant, who is fit to undertake our affairs in this their moſt critical ſituation. As they have at length done their own buſineſs on this point, I have done with them. The friends of government, now the friends of their country, expect nothing more from Mr. Pitt than (what they are very ſure they ſhall find) his old principles and his old ſpirit. To co-operate with them, they deſire no ſacrifice from him whatſoever. To be ſtill that Pitt, whom Britain loves, Europe reveres, and our enemies tremble at, is all that they have to wiſh of him. Their advantage, and his reputation, are on the ſame bottom.

AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

An anſwer to the foregoing letter.

YOUR correſpondent, the *Occaſional Writer*, may not unfairly be ſuppoſed to have the ſtamp of authority on his productions; and if the public have read his laſt letter in your paper of the 2d inſtant with even the ſmalleſt attention, I make no doubt but their ſurprize muſt have been equal to mine, to find that laboured performance, ſo wholly deſtitute of *truth*, ſenſe and argument. To the firſt of theſe charges, which is all that is material to the public, I ſhall confine myſelf. The two laſt I leave to the critics.

He ſays, ſpeaking of Mr. PITT, and the preſent adminiſtration, that they "never have departed "from the generous and manly opinions, they held "in common with him;" that they "always loved "his perſon, adored his character, purſued his "ideas, &c.

In what manner have they purſued Mr. PITT's *ideas?*—The patrons of this writer might very well judge, if ever they had the leaſt knowledge of Mr. P—, (though for their own ſakes, I will readily allow, the ſuppoſition of *any* knowledge to admit of much

much doubt) that if *he* and his *noble brother* had been in the adminiſtration, the parliamant would have been called ſeveral months ago; and long before this very dangerous and critical period, they would have done whatever was proper and neceſſary in the important affairs of America; and this being *before* the ſtamp act took place, ſuch early, wiſe and prudent conduct, would, in all probability, have prevented the greateſt part of the preſent unhappy diſturbances throughout the colonies; and what is ſtill worſe, their denial and defiance of the legiſlative power; which the unpardonable delay of the preſent miniſters has greatly tended to weaken, by giving the colonies time and opportunity to unite, and foment the ſpirit of oppoſition, to this now feeble government. And I will juſt add, that what might have been *right* and *proper* THEN, may not be ſo *now*. THEY HAVE LOST THE OPPORTUNITY.

But, ſays he, a little lower, they have always ſhewn a deſire, or a wiſh, (I do not exactly recollect which is his word, for I have not this moment your paper before me) *to follow* Mr. PITT's *plans*. If this be true, and they have not put thoſe deſires or wiſhes in execution, which I will take upon me to affirm they have not, it proves to demonſtration, that there is a *ſecret power* which CONTROULS THEM: And I beg leave to aſk the Occaſional Writer, whether the late reſtoration of a certain commander was *following any of* Mr. PITT's *plans, or ideas?* And, whether, (notwithſtanding all the falſe and empty boaſts of this, and other writers, in the pay of the adminiſtration, *that* Mr. P— *was their friend, that he approved of, and adviſed with them*, &c.) they did not abſolutely deſpair of him, when, in obedience to the Favourite, they denounced the rottenneſs of their ſyſtem, and the deſperation of their caſe, by taking that depraved and obnoxious ſtep;

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which will add, if any thing can, to the juſt abhorrence which all honeſt Engliſhmen entertain of the preſent *butal* and *ducal* adminiſtration. I will now trouble the reader with the mention of one other fact; only to ſhew that the patrons of the Occaſional Writer, have *formerly*, as well as *latterly*, DEPARTED FROM Mr. P—'s *plans* and *ideas*. When that miniſter, with a ſpirit that has gained him the applauſe of the world, and from a penetration which had aſtoniſhed and confounded our enemies, propoſed the recall of Lord Briſtol from Madrid, upon certain and authentic intelligence of the *deſigns* of Spain, and upon which he grounded the ſpirited meaſure he had then ſo much at heart, not a ſingle perſon of the preſent adminiſtration joined him: by which the moſt glorious opportunity of humbling our enemies, and, in all probability, of terminating the war at one ſtroke, was LOST. In this critical hour; the hour, that he was to be driven from the ſtate, *only* his faithful, brother, friend, and confident, Lord TEMPLE, had the courage, virtue, and patriotiſm, to adhere to his opinion. As many of the *preſent* adminiſtration, as were in the council, *aſſiſted the Favourite*; whoſe ultimate view it was, to rid his ſovereign and the nation, of the preſence and councils of theſe two illuſtrious perſonages.

But when the honour, intereſt, and peace of the nation, had in many inſtances been ſacrificed to the ambition, folly, and incapacity of a corrupt, inſolent, all-graſping minion; and when, in conſequence, diſtreſs and ruin, began to preſent themſelves from every quarter; then did the ſame *inviſible hand*, which had found means to deprive us of their ſervices, *ſecretly* attempt to reſtore them; and ſuch was his continued love of power, and abſolute dominion over the whole court, that theſe propoſed reſtorations, were not contrived upon a princi-

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ple ſo materially for the ſervice of the country, as to ſcreen him from the reſentment of an injured people; to prop his tottering weight: and, upon the credit of their names, to fix for life, his fatal influence. But the cloven foot of this agent was ſo conſpicuous in the very outſet of the negotiation, that a regard for their own honours, the odium of *his* character, and the ficklenefs of *his* diſpoſition; would not ſuffer them to take the lead of ſtate, under ſuch a dangerous and unwarrantable controul.

To put this matter clearly beyond all doubt, I will mention one or two FACTS, which are well known to thoſe about the court. It was firſt propoſed to put the *Favourite Lieutenant* at the head of the Treaſury. But the noble perſon to whom this condition was *ſeparately* offered, treated it as it deſerved; yet, with all due reſpect to the great perſon who propoſed it. It was afterwards treated in Kent in the ſame manner. In the *ſecond part* of this negotiation, it was, among other things, inſiſted, that the Favourite's brother ſhould be *reſtored to office*. And give me leave to add, that no abhorrence would have been equal to the deſerts of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, if they had ſuffered their names to have appeared in the ſame Gazette with the Favourite's brother. But from men of their known, approved, and eſtabliſhed characters, there was no reaſon to apprehend ſuch *a treachery to the publit*.

If theſe are not facts, they will be contradicted. But if they are, (and I can bring many more of the ſame, and ſome of a ſtronger kind) I ſubmit them to the judgment of the public, whether they are not clear proofs of a certain influence.

The ſtate then went *a-begging*. Several perſons of high rank, and who ſet a value upon their reputations, likewiſe refuſed it. At laſt the preſent ſet took it up. And in what manner have they aſſerted their *independency*? Have they diſmiſſed the Favourite's

vourite's boſom friend? *Can* they, or *dare* they? and do not ſome of thoſe very friends ſay, without a ſcruple, that they conſider the preſent adminiſtration, as nothing but an additional buttreſs to their ſtructure? Have they diſmiſſed any but his enemies? Does he not go at *at all times*, to a certain place? and has not very lately his name been given as a toaſt in the miniſter's own houſe, in a great company, and by the *great weather-cock?* and to what can be attributed the diſorder, and manifeſt difference of opinions, which at this time reigns among them, but to the influence of the Favourite; whoſe intereſt it is to keep them in that ſituation?—But as to Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt they have ever ſince their diſmiſſion, lived in ſuch a ſtate of the warmeſt friendſhip for, and entire confidence in each other, as does honour to the greatneſs of their minds, and that true love of their country, which is the only ruling principle of both their actions. And for the comfort and ſatisfaction of the public, I will add, that the cordiality which ſubſiſts between them, is ſincere and unalterable; notwithſtanding the many ſiniſter and infamous attempts to divide them, contrived by the Favourite and the preſent miniſters.

If there is any thing in this letter which ſhould give offence to the patrons of the Occaſional Writer, they may thank themſelves for it. I do not wiſh to quarrel with any of them. But I will not ſit in ſilence while the faireſt characters are ſlandered, and the public abuſed, under their directions.—*Qui ea quæ vult dicit, ea quæ non vult audiet.*

O. P.

Another defence of the adminiſtration.

AMONG the many ſingularities that characterize this nation, their behaviour to great men in and out of place, is none of the leaſt remark-

able: Every where elſe the happy minion, who baſks in the ſunſhine of royal favour, is ſure of the adoration of the multitude; and the very firſt ſymptom of his decline in the good graces of his ſovereign, is the beginning of his diſgrace with the people. Here the caſe is quite different: The miniſter in place is always a rogue and a blockhead; and when he lays down his employment, he takes up honeſty, ability and popularity in it's ſtead.

The very day the late change was announced to the public, our worthy ex-miniſters appeared in the papers in all the pomp of new-fangled patriotiſm, while their ſucceſſors, whoſe commiſſions had hardly paſſed the ſeals, were already charged with all the miſdemeanours that they poſſibly might commit in the courſe of a long and bad adminiſtration.

Anti-Sejanus was the firſt, like a left-handed raven, to croak evil to this nation, from the change; and he endeavoured to make rogues, as Sir John Falſtaff did cuckolds, by anticipation. After lamenting the great loſs we have ſuſtained from the removal of the modeſty of a B——, the integrity of a H——, the virtue and decency of a S——, and above all, of the conſummate wiſdom and extended views of a G. G. he then proceeds to tell us nothing can be expected from a raw and unexperienced miniſtry, compoſed of a fool of a D——, a low-bred creature of a G——, a R— hated by the people, and a C—, a fellow of no ſpirit.

Now I, who cannot ſee into futurity like *Anti-Sejanus*, will not pretend to judge of our preſent adminiſtration till I ſee them begin to act: I truſt, however, he will prove a lying prophet; and I own I conceive the greateſt hopes from that very want of experience which he charges upon them as their greateſt fault. To be unexperienced in the ways of late miniſters, is, not to know meanneſs to our enemies and inſolence to our S——n, penny-

wiſe

wiſe ſchemes to leſſen the national debt, and pound-fooliſh projects to increaſe it, Change-alley tricks to raiſe our ſtocks, and narrow-minded regulations to cramp our trade. This, however, is the boaſted knowledge of *Anti-Sejanus*'s hero in adminiſtration, who founds his pretenſions to rule on his ſkill in fractions, and from Cocker and Wingate draws leſſons of government for this nation. As well might *Jacob Henriques* aſpire to be at the head of the Treaſury; his abilities in that way will be allowed full as great, and his honeſty nothing inferior.

But of all the tricks employed to prejudice the minds of men againſt the new adminiſtration, the moſt curious is to repreſent them as the creatures of an unpopular FAVOURITE. *Anti-Sejanus* firſt chalked out this devil to himſelf, and has been buſy in combating it ever ſince; and a *ſoydiſant* honeſt man has alſo offered what he calls ſome reaſons to the public in ſupport of the ſame aſſertion.

The new miniſtry diſclaim all dependance but upon their own integrity, and upon a ſhare of ability which they may be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs in a degree at leaſt equal to their predeceſſors. Time will be the beſt teſt of both. They are called to the helm by the united voice of the K——, the R—, F—, and the people. Let us then give them a fair trial, and let them firſt be impartially weighed before we pronounce them to be found wanting. In the mean time *Anti-Sejanus* may go on to predict as much miſchief to the nation as he pleaſes. His writings will be more attended to, ſhould he chuſe to ſign *Jemmy Twitcher*, the real name given him by his godfathers and godmothers. A loſing gameſter has always leave to rail: beſides, when he calls names, and beſtows liberally rogue and fool,

we can make juſt allowance for a jaundiced eye, that ſees every thing yellow like itſelf.

G. H. J. K.—A WEAVER IN SPITALFIELDS.

[*The following letters were written on the ſubject of taxing the Britiſh Colonies in America.*]

THE affair of the American ſtamp-act becomes every day more and more ſerious; and its now arrived at this dreadful alternative, whether England ſhall aſſert her dominion over her colonies, or the colonies ſhall be totally independent of her legiſlative power. Perhaps a ſhort ſketch of ſome of the arguments on *both ſides*, may enable your readers, and the public, to determine which they would chuſe, were the choice left to them.

On behalf of the colonies it is ſaid, that not being repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, that parliament cannot, nor ought to tax them; that it cannot lay taxes on any who are not repreſented. But even if it could, the colonies have been taxed *unheard*, which is a grievance better to be conceived than deſcribed. They have in one day, unſummoned and unheard, been deprived of their invaluable privileges, which they have enjoyed upwards of 100 years. It is true, there is power and ſtrength enough in England, to oblige them to ſubmit to this act; to cruſh them to atoms. But the queſtion here is not about *power*, but about *right*. And would it be prudent to enforce that, the right of which is abſolutely denied. It has indeed been the faſhion of late, to treat the Americans with much contempt and foul language; but this has neither been prudent nor politic; for America is too reſpectable, and the commerce of this country of too much conſequence, to be ſported away with calling names. America may be driven into deſpair; and then, like the ſtrong man, ſhe may embrace the

pillars

pillars of this conſtitution, and bury herſelf and us in the ruins. There is every argument of intereſt, policy, and privilege, for the reſcinding of this act; and until it is totally reſcinded, neither the commerce of Great-Britain, nor the affection of America will be reſtored.

On the other ſide it is ſaid, that the ſtamp act is not the firſt act of the Britiſh parliament which has extended to America. The act of navigation, and the poſt office act, very materially affect America; the latter in particular is an internal tax on her, and neither of theſe have been diſputed; although if parliament had no right to paſs them, they ought likewiſe to be reſcinded. With regard to the ſtamp act, never did any act paſs with ſuch remarkable and unuſual deliberation: for in one ſeſſion, the parliament came to a reſolution, that it was the right and authority of the Britiſh legiſlature to tax America; and it was not until the next ſeſſion, a twelve month afterwards, that the bill for the ſtamp act was brought in; therefore there was time enough for every body who did not approve of it, to prepare themſelves with proper arguments to oppoſe it: but the truth is, nobody ſeemed to doubt the right: and the Americans themſelves ſay, that if they *muſt* be taxed, they would rather have the ſtamp-act than any other. If the Britiſh legiſlature have no right to tax America, they have none to tax Ireland, notwithſtanding they have aſſerted it; and all the counties in England may claim an exemption from taxes, which the reſcinding of this act will be encouragement for them to do. The ſtamps, very poſſibly, may have been rated too high, but thoſe rates are eaſily altered.

A FRIEND TO MY COUNTRY.

THE ſketch of the *arguments on both ſides*, relating to the American ſtamp act, (ſigned *A Friend to my Country*) is, I think, on the whole, a pretty fair one. There are, however, a few omiſſions in it, which I beg leave to ſupply.

On behalf of the colonies it is farther ſaid, that, allowing the principle, which they do not, nor never did diſpute, that they ought in juſtice to bear with other ſubjects their ſhare of common burthens, yet the act was *unneceſſary* whether we look backward or forward. As to what is *paſt*, they have in all wars exerted themſelves fully equal to their abilities, and in the laſt, beyond them, which has been acknowledged by government here; and that they ſtill are under a heavy load of debt incurred by that war, for which all their provincial land taxes, taxes on perſonal property, exciſes, poll-taxes, taxes on the profits of buſineſs, &c. &c. during many years to come, are mortgaged. And as to the occaſions of expence that may *hereafter*, ariſe, the antient *eſtabliſhed* method of calling on their aſſemblies by requiſitory letters from the crown, is ſufficient to anſwer all purpoſes; ſince they always ſhould, as they always have done, think themſelves obliged in duty, on ſuch requiſitions, to grant aids ſuitable to their circumſtances. That beſides this, they actually pay great taxes to this country, in the accumulated price (occaſioned by its taxes) of all the Britiſh manufactures they conſume; and which, if it were not for the reſtraints on their trade, they might buy cheaper elſewhere. That the acts for regulating commerce and navigation, and the poſt-office act, differ very materially from the ſtamp-act. The former lay duties on the importation of goods, which people may buy or let alone, and the other fixes a rate for the carriage of letters, that is merely a *quantum meruit* for ſervice done, and which every man

may

may do in another way, if he thinks it cheaper and ſafer, i. e. he may ſend his letter by a ſpecial meſſenger, or by his friend. But the ſtamp act *forces* the money from the country under *heavy penalties*, and denies *common* juſtice in the courts, unleſs they will ſubmit to part with it, and this without the conſent of the legiſlative body, in which only the country has repreſentatives. And though it is true, that the diſtance between ſeſſion and ſeſſion gave time enough for "preparing proper arguments to oppoſe the ſtamp-act;" yet that time was rendered of no uſe, the petitions that were ſent over from the colonies, containing their reaſons againſt it, not being *admitted* or *ſo much as read*, becauſe it was, it ſeems, contrary to an eſtabliſhed rule, importing that petitions ſhould not be received againſt a money bill. The parliament may have "aſſerted a right" to tax Ireland; but it is certain they have never practiſed it. And though it ſhould be allowed right neither to tax Ireland or the colonies by act of a legiſlature in which they have no repreſentative, it does not appear how "all the counties in England could found a like claim on that principle, ſince they are all repreſented; there not being a landed freehold eſtate above 40s. per annum in any county, that does not give its owner a right to vote for a member of parliament.

A FRIEND TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

MANY perſons have been pleaſed to diſpute the authority of the Britiſh parliament to lay taxes on North America; and it has been lately ſtrongly denied by ſome, whoſe declarations may poſſibly have ſome weight, if not refuted by the united force of law, reaſon and argument.

The firſt and principal objection to the power of the parliament extending to the colonies, is *thoſe colonies not being repreſented among ſt us*, and hence it is

laid down as a conſtitutional principle, that they cannot be taxed here, unleſs they are repreſented; or to ſtate this objection fairly as to the meaning, and in the language of the coloniſts themſelves, "*no Engliſhman can be taxed but by his own conſent* "*in perſon, or that of his repreſentative.*" Where, at what time, or in what code of law this newly conſtructed ſentence has its origin, I cannot diſcover. Magna Charta, the foundation and rule of all our liberties, and the authority to which we at all times appeal, has no ſuch words, nor any paſſage which can be conſtrued or ſtrained into ſuch a ſenſe. All that Magna Charta ſays, which can in the leaſt *tend* towards this propoſition, is, "that the King engages not to raiſe any money on his ſubjects, but with the concurrence of the *ſtates* of the realm." But it does not ſay, that every Engliſhman is to be exempted from taxation, who has not a right to vote for one of thoſe ſtates. In *counties*, for inſtance, the number of inhabitants are infinitely greater than thoſe of the freeholders, who only have a right of voting for a repreſentative in parliament; and yet ALL, without diſtinction, pay taxes. It is the ſame in all cities and boroughs. Even the Roman Catholics, who are expreſsly forbid the right of voting at any election, are, by the legiſlative and repreſentative body of the whole people, obliged to pay higher taxes, than any others of his Majeſty's ſubjects. Formerly the inhabitants of the counties of Durham, Cheſter, and other counties palatine, were not ſpecially repreſented; and did they ever ſay, that an act of the legiſlature to impoſe taxes did not bind them?

In a word, if we admit that propoſition, above nineteen parts out of twenty of his Majeſty's ſubjects MAY, and doubtleſs WILL claim the privilege of exemption from taxation; and in ſuch a caſe I leave every one to judge, how hard the raiſing the

revenue

revenue will fall upon thoſe few, thoſe very few, who ſpecially have the right of ſending members to parliament: therefore I hope this point will not be inſiſted upon as any reaſon for the repealing the ſtamp-act, as any unprejudiced perſon muſt ſee the matter of *right* ought not to come in queſtion at all.

This *right*, I think, is a thing perfectly clear and undoubted, and I hope we ſhall ever retain it; as, without leſſening the true and conſtitutional authority of this country over her colonies, that act may be repealed, and every relief they can deſire, or we ought to grant, may be given.

But, waving for the preſent any idea of what conſequences may be expected in England from allowing this propoſition, let us examine a little how it would affect America.

The coloniſts have, in many inſtances, acknowledged the authority of the Britiſh parliament to lay duties on their exports and imports; and they have ſubmitted to all thoſe duties, and to all other regulations of their trade, which the Britiſh legiſlature has thought proper to enact; without a murmur. This I think, has been called *external taxation*. But what the coloniſts, (and a few others) now ſay, and upon which they lay their greateſt emphaſis, is "*that* "*our right extends no farther*;" that is (for I am now and then obliged to explain their meaning) that we have no right to lay *internal* taxes on America. To me they would have given ſingular pleaſure, as well as great ſatisfaction, if they had either explained or pointed out upon what principles of law and liberty they had founded this curious diſtinction; but I believe it is ſo very *new*, that it had birth with the ſtamp-act. Ever ſince I firſt heard of this curious diſtinction, I have been endeavouring to find out the *merits* of it; but ſo far from being able to diſcover them, I am ſtrongly and clearly convinced,

vinced, they neither have, nor can have, any exiſtence. If, according to the American propoſition, we have a right to lay *external taxes* on them, what limits us from laying *internal* ones? The anſwer is, they are as much repreſented in one kind of taxation as the other;—and if parliament has a right to lay *external* taxes (as they are called) it has a right likewiſe to impoſe *internal* ones. Either *both* muſt be legal, or *neither*.—Either *all* our acts, or *all* of ſuch *parts* of our acts as extend to America, have from the firſt been legal, or they never were, nor never can be ſo; they cannot be part one and part the other. If the colonies are ſufficiently repreſented to be liable to one kind of taxation, they are liable to the other. And this I doubt not will be conſidered as a clear and fundamental propoſition, unleſs the coloniſts can ſhow, that a *greater* or *different* authority is requiſite to impoſe an internal than an eternal tax.

But perhaps it will be ſaid, that the ſtamp-act is the *firſt* internal tax, and therefore it has been ſo violently oppoſed. This is not true; for the whole poſt-office eſtabliſhment is *internal*, and requires the payment of internal duties; and this was admitted. But if it had not, and the right of internal taxation been denied; which it ought to have been then, in the firſt inſtance, or not at all; and this denial, upon the plea that is now aſſerted of want of repreſentation, been allowed to be a good and ſufficient one; I will venture to ſay, that before this time, the coloniſts would have claimed an exemption from the duties and obedience of ſubjects; being no longer under the controul of the Britiſh legiſlature, and have claimed and inſiſted upon the title of ALLIES.

This conduct, I preſume, would not be agreeable to any Engliſhman in this kingdom; therefore I hope *matter of right* will not be made a reaſon for repealing

repealing the ſtamp-act; which indeed I could wiſh was done upon a *principle of expediency*.

O. P.

THE American writers ſeem deſirous of changing the diſpute concerning America into an argmuent relative to the quality of Indian corn. The reſources the Americans have within themſelves for the neceſſary ſupplies of cloathing and food, without dependance upon their mother country, the moral character of America, and their connections with the Scots.

As to the iſlands and the four obedient provinces, they are unconcerned in this queſtion. The Americans, of whom I affirmed that it was of ſmall or no conſequence to the Eaſt-India company what reſolutions they took concerning tea, are the diſobedient Americans only, whoſe numbers exceed not one million or twelve hundred thouſand perſons at moſt, all furniſhed in a great meaſure with tea and divers other commercial articles from the Dutch and Danes?

I am very ſenſible of the ſmall regard the ſmuggling part of America have to veracity, and therefore am not at all ſurpriſed at their denying the moſt notorious facts, and aſſerting America has every uſeful commodity within herſelf, and only trades with us out of a principle of kindneſs. But we are as well acquainted with the other productions of their country as with the quality of their Indian corn. We know they have not wool enough in the diſobedient provinces to cloath the tenth perſon in them. We alſo know the nature of this wool, that it is hairy and unfit for making cloth of any tolerable fineneſs. Nor are we to learn what ſmall quantities of linen are made in America, or the price of wages there, which lays the Americans under an indiſputable obligation to purchaſe their

cloathing

cloathing where they can, and many other things which cannot be made in America at the ſame rate they are bought here.

That the Americans will deny the moſt inconteſted facts that make againſt them is not much to be wondered at: but it would be extremely odd indeed, if we ſhould believe perſons who will attempt to deceive us in ſo inconſiderable an affair as that of the quality of Indian corn, whoſe nature may eaſily be gueſſed at from this, that it muſt always be conſumed the moment it is dreſſed, otherwiſe it becomes extremely hard and diſagreeable. Is not this undeniable property of victuals made of the flour of this corn an evidence that it is not eaſy of digeſtion, as I alledged, though not indigeſtible or unwholeſome.

But Americans, it ſeems, are deſtined to behave in an unfair manner. I ſaid of the Americans, that they take nothing from us that they can do without, or cannot get by in the way of traffic.

It has been ſaid, by one of the American advocates, that " not a ſingle American has a vote for this parliament," meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Britiſh parliament. Is it poſſible this allegation can be truth, when, in fact, there are ſome Creoles, who are certainly Americans, in the Houſe of Commons? Have not theſe Americans both voted for and in this parliament? What a ſtrange inattention to preciſion and truth, appears through the whole of his letter?

But the particular crime of which I am found guilty by thoſe writers, is, that I have attempted to prove, in an abſurd way, that two or three millions of people are repreſented in parliament, for which not a ſingle American has a vote. Here you ſee the point on which the diſpute about the repreſentation of America turns. The American doctrine is, that no man is repreſented in the parliament for which he has not voted. If this be true,

there

there are ſome millions of people in Britain who are not repreſented in parliament, for I am certain, that there are not two or three millions of people concerned in elections, or in voting for the parliament as the Americans expreſs it.

It is however agreeable to obſerve, how the Americans confute my poſition, that Britiſh America lies in England, from the opinion of a Recorder, whoſe judgment muſt certainly be deficive, that a man born in America is not born in England. An excellent diſcovery indeed. But the queſtion between England and America, is, whether with reſpect to the force of our laws the Americans have not agreed, by accepting charters like theirs, that America ſhall be eſteemed to lie in England. This American conceſſion is only made to the crown, and conſequently relates to the legiſlature only; an American by theſe charters, can claim a birth-right in England ſo far as to entitle him to all the rights common to Engliſhmen, but nothing further, becauſe no more is promiſed to him, in conſequence of this conceſſion on his part. Thus far I have deſcended to talk with your American correſpondent according to his capacity, but now muſt conſider the national intereſt in this American propoſition, *that no man is repreſented in parliament but perſons who vote in elections.*

This propoſition at once cuts down the force of the Navigation-act in America, as well as that of all the commercial laws relative to the trade of the Weſtern world, and conſequently makes an irreparable breach in our happy conſtitution. It leaves America at liberty to chuſe what form of government ſhe thinks fit; to make what treaties ſhe will with foreigners relative to commerce; to ſend her ſhips where ſhe pleaſes, and to load them according-ing to her humour. In one word, it excludes the juriſdiction of our parliament from Britiſh America,

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and erects our governments there into independent kingdoms. Will Engliſhmen ſuffer theſe ruinous conſequences to take place? Is it for this we fought and bled, for Britiſh America? My countrymen will, I hope, conſider before it is too late, our connections with our ſubjects beyond the Atlantic ocean, and make them ſenſible that thoſe inhabitants of America who vote not in parliamentary elections, are on the ſame footing with that claſs of our fellow ſubjects here who have no concern in thoſe elections.

VINDEX PATRIÆ.

THE arguments enforcing the legality of the ſtamp act, are too cogent to admit of refutation, and the wiſeſt aſſembly in the world are too well perſuaded of their weight to heſitate one moment on that account. I know there is one perſon of great diſtinction, who publiſhes ſentiments of a contrary nature. But the Americans are indebted for that lucky event to that decay of underſtanding, neceſſarily occaſioned by years and maladies. In that gentleman, we look with veneration on the ruins of an extenſive underſtanding, with much the ſame ſenſations in our breaſts as when we ſurvey a venerable pile of building diſmantled and defaced by the relentleſs hand of time. In him we muſt permit thoſe foibles, which in others would merit an exemplary reproof. The laſt dregs of a life, ſo nobly ſpent in the ſervice of our country, ought to be regarded in the moſt reſpectful manner.

But we muſt not ſacrifice our country to the debility of age, nor give into a diſtinction unknown in the law of nations. No taxes can be impoſed but by the ſovereign power in each ſtate, or by its authority; and thoſe taxes are only to be circumſcribed by the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the abilities of the ſubjects. All other diſtinctions on that

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head are vain; too paultry to deſerve conſideration, and too abſurd to deſerve notice in any ſenſible kingdom. No taxes ought to be laid on but when the ſupport of government abſolutely requires that aid; and what good man will ſtand on diſtinctions, when the ſafety of the conſtitution of his country demands a part of his ſubſtance? or, who will liſten to any diſtinctions, when neceſſity calls for a ſubſtantial aſſiſtance to the public? it is ſo evident, that no diſtinctions, founded on whimſical niceties, can prevail in caſes, governed by neceſſity only, that I cannot enough admire their folly, who plume themſelves upon ſo extravagant a fancy, as that of a diſtinction between internal and external taxations. Humanity, relationſhip, and intereſt impel ſome to interpoſe in behalf of perſons ſo connected with them as ſome Americans are, for whoſe deſtiny they ſo juſtly tremble: And I am too well acquainted with human nature, to conſtrue into crimes frailties, which, if culpable, are the faults of our whole race: I cannot therefore too ſtrongly blame thoſe, whom an exuberant goodneſs of heart, blood, or commercial connections, have betrayed into the American ſide of this diſpute. The party they have eſpouſed will ſoon ſufficiently reprove their temerity; and the inextricable difficulties the badneſs of that cauſe involves them in, will gradually inſtruct them, that the beſt underſtanding is inſufficient for obtaining victory in ſuch a ſtruggle, as your correſpondent Mr. N. N. of the 29th of laſt month, has already found.

Some pretender to knowledge had made him believe, that the Americans are ſome how by law obſtructed from working their iron into nails, their wool into cloth, or their beaver into hats. This falſehood, they ſuppoſed, would aid their cauſe; ſo out it comes in the honeſty of Mr. N. N's heart. He did not ſuppoſe that perſons, whom he had ſo

good

good an opinion of, would buſy themſelves in the dirty kennel of impoſition. But the many *hums* we have lately had in the papers, owing their origin to American duplicity, are too ſtrong proofs that the Americans will not let their honeſty hurt them. However, Sir, I can aſſure your correſpondent, that there are no laws in being, that hinder the Americans from working upon any materials of their own country as they think fit; and we well know that they ſubmit not as they ought to thoſe regulations, duties, and burdens, which attend the ſame buſineſſes at home. Nay, they may refine, and actually do refine, their own ſugars, ſo indulgent is their parent country to them; yet ſhe has no more of their affection than if they were equally loaded with us.

Party and paſſion always blind the underſtandings, and in this caſe remarkably obſcure Mr. N. N.'s faculties, ſo as to diſable him from obſerving, that I do not accuſe all the Americans, in their perſonal capacities, of thoſe riots which their defenders deſire to father on the rabble, and aſcribe to ſudden impulſes; but the uniform, uninterrupted attacks upon the ſtamps and ſtamp-maſters, all over the diſobedient colonies, are clear proofs that thoſe tumultuous proceedings owed their origin to deſign, and were conducted by——from South Carolina to New England. Had theſe tumults been properly diſcouraged by authority, where they firſt broke out, we had heard no more of them; but ſince the aſſemblies, and other communities, exerted not their power to repreſs them, we are entitled, by all the rules of propriety, to charge them with the guilt of authoriſing riots, which they with joy ſurveyed, if not pointed out.

People in theſe inferior ſtations cannot be ſuppoſed to imagine themſelves more knowing than the Britiſh ſenate, or that they would take it upon them unhired

unhired to appear in ſuch a quarrel. We muſt, therefore, look for their employers among thoſe who, having power in their hands, uſed it not for the protection of the lives of the ſtamp-maſters: and to them we muſt aſcribe thoſe tumults, whoſe declared aim was to diſgrace, as much as was in their power, the Britiſh legiſlature.

It is true, that I ſet forth before my countrymen, the notorious vices of the Americans, chiefly *that they might not be deemed worthy of a place in our auguſt ſenate.* And Mr. N. N. would deprive me of the effect of this juſtification, by alledging *that the Americans deſire no ſuch ſeats.* But it is well known, that their defenders hinged their defence upon an affirmation, that the Americans deſire a repreſentation among us; and if ſo repreſented, would not decline bearing a ſhare of the taxes laid on by a legiſlature in which they were repreſented. Againſt this defence I wrote, and, as a diſputant in that cauſe, had a right to oppoſe falſhood with truth, expoſe the futility of the demand, and warn my countrymen of the danger of complying with ſo ignominious a requeſt. The patrons of America alſo preſumed to paint the American morals in a light ſuperior to ours. And Mr. N. N.'s zeal for America has led him into the ſame blunder. Muſt we ſilent and calmly hear America extolled in this unreaſonable manner? Do we not know, that Glaſgow may be conſidered as the capital of Virginia? That New England is indebted to the Scotch kirk for her confeſſion of faith; and that Pennſilvania, New York, and the Jerſeys are ſo full of foreigners, that in many places an Engliſh tongue cannot be underſtood? Why ſhould I be ſilent on thoſe matters, and why ſhould I hide from the eye of the public any truth which the public is intereſted in? Have the Americans alone a patent for praiſing themſelves, and deſpiſing other Britiſh ſubjects? Or

if the patrons of America attempt to raiſe the Americans above the level of their fellow ſubjects, why may not I, in compliance with truth, reſtore them to that inferior rank which they are only entitled to? Will Mr. N. N. contradict any fact I have ſet forth. He is ſenſible that he cannot.

In fine, Sir, truth and juſtice require that the North Americans ſhould be ſpoke of as they deſerve, while their defenders applaud them as if they were ſaints, and thoſe that ſet themſelves up above parliamentary authority, muſt be made ſenſible of the extenſive power of that auguſt aſſembly, which is limited only by the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the abilities of the ſubjects. VINDEX PATRIÆ.

WHAT a noiſe have we had of late about American legiſlation, American freeholders, and the privileges of thoſe freeholders? But is there any legiſlation in America? Are there any freeholders there? No man, who knows any thing of the law of England, will aſſert, that there is any legiſlation in America, or one freeholder in that part of the world. The King has no power of legiſlation, and he cannot, by his charters, convey to any claſs of his ſubjects a power not reſident in the crown. The parliament, including his Majeſty, as the head thereof, has a power of legiſlation, but they poſſeſs that power unalienably.

The power of legiſlation is not a chattel to be diſpoſed of by grant or other ſort of conveyance. It is a truſt granted by the common law for the good of the community, and for their good muſt remain with the auguſt body in which it reſides. The power of making bye-laws, for the utility of ſubordinate bodies politic, is a quite different affair. That power is often created by the parliament, which has eſſentially, in itſelf, all the powers of government. But charters from the crown, not confirmed

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in parliament, can convey no juriſdiction whatever, becauſe the King is not the fountain of law, as he is of honour.

All our Courts from thoſe in Weſtminſter-hall to thoſe in manors, are founded on the cuſtom of England *time out of mind*, or upon the law of the land; that is, *ſtatutes made in parliament*. The parliament only can create new courts and new juriſdictions. But as the King muſt govern by the law, he cannot make that law upon which his authority reſts, nor by his charters convey to others a power which he enjoys not.

Every foot of ground in England lies in ſome manor, which is itſelf the creature of cuſtom *time out of mind*. Theſe manners antiently poſſeſſed all juriſdiction, civil and criminal; and this juriſdiction was exerted in the Court of Freeholders, in which the Lord, or his Steward, was the Judge, the freeholders ſerving as Jurors by virtue of their freeholds. Thus, Sir, you ſee that our freeholders are, by virtue of their freeholds, poſſeſſed of a radical judicative authority in manors, which they are entitled to by the common law, and poſſeſs their eſtates by the ſame tenure, by which his Majeſty holds his crown. They are indebted to no Prince for this eſtate and judicative authority thereto appendant. Their title to their lands is a title of independence, and in every reſpect equal to the royal title by which the crown is held.

And as theſe freehold eſtates, are of a very particular nature with reſpect to their origin, ſo they are conveyed in a very particular manner. They cannot be taken by a writ of *fieri facias*. And if they are ſeized by a writ of *elegit*, one moiety only of the eſtate can be applied for payment of the debt and coſts on which the judgment is founded, the other moiety muſt remain with the freeholder for his ſupport and maintenance. The freehold de-

ſcends to the heir diſcharged of all debts, not ſpecialities.

Now we have ſeen what an Engliſh freehold is. Are there any ſuch eſtates in America? I am certain there are not. There can be no manors in that part of the world, for we can ſhew the origin of their tenures. Their properties, pretended legiſlative authority, and the exiſtence of what they call freeholds, can be traced from prerogative. Are our freeholds owing to human beneficence? No: We can name ſeveral Princes who have oppreſſed us; but the Americans can point out none who ever conferred upon us our eſtates, or any privileges whatever. Is there an eſtate in America which may not be taken by the ſame writ that takes in execution a Negro or a Horſe? The whole courſe of Chancery proves that their eſtates are only commercial chattles, ſubject to the diſpoſition of the laſt will of the owner, and chargeable with all the debts of the deceaſed proprietor. And leſt any doubt ſhould ariſe about the propriety of theſe decrees in equity, equalizing a foreign plantation to a perſonal eſtate, there was a ſtatute made in the fifth year of the preceding reign declarative of the common law in this reſpect, and ſtatuting that foreign plantations ſhould only be regarded in the light of perſonal eſtates. After that law, what man in his right ſenſes can dignify thoſe eſtates with the name of freeholds?

The American's eſtates, Sir, are deſtitute of the principle characteriſtic of a freehold. They are derived from royal grants for the improvement of commerce. The pretended American freeholders are not original members of any Court, by virtue of their freeholds. They have no manors, nor manor courts in America, and conſequently no courts to which the pretended American freeholders repair, by virtue of their freeholds, and

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in conſequence of a title paramount to all human laws. Why then ſhould they pretend to equalize their ſuppoſed freeholders with ours. An abſolute ignorance of law and common-ſenſe could only give birth to ſuch injudicious conduct. Our freeholders have a ſhare in the legiſlation; becauſe by cuſtoms as antient as thoſe that eſtabliſh government, they are entitled to rule in a certain diſtrict of the kingdom. Can the Americans boaſt of the exiſtence of any ſuch cuſtoms among them, or of eſtates and judicative authority derived out of theſe cuſtoms? Why then ſhould they pretend to be freeholders, and as ſuch only ſubject to a legiſlation of their own election.

The Americans will, perhaps, reply, that they ſerve on Juries when called by the King's writ into the ſupreme Courts of their reſpective provinces. But this happens not as with us by the excellency of tenures, whoſe origin is unknown, but is owing to the grace of thoſe Princes who, without the authority of law granted them that conſtitution. Are tenures flowing from a Prince equal to tenures held independent of the crown?—ſurely not. The Americans have no rights but from royal grants; and of conſequence thoſe rights muſt not be extended beyond their natural meaning, or interpreted to the prejudice of thoſe who, by an inherent right, independent of the crown, govern the whole kingdom. The privileges of perſons claiming under ſo high a tenure, cannot be impaired by deeds from the crown, and conſequently the government of our parliament muſt reach over all the Engliſh dominions, as if no ſuch grants had been made, and no eſtates derived out of them. VINDEX PATRIÆ.

MANY ingenious pens have been employed in behalf of the colonies, and their cauſe has thereby received all the advantages which the

force of letters could give. But ſtill there are a few things to be ſaid on the other ſide; and it is but right that *all* ſhould be heard before *any thing* is determined.

The advocates for the repeal of the ſtamp-act urge two things, viz. That the Britiſh parliament have *no right* to lay taxes in America, becauſe America is not repreſented here: and that if they had, this tax is a very *inexpedient* one.

As to the denial of the *right*, it is worth two or three lines of examination, only to expoſe the folly of it. The Americans acknowledge that the Britiſh legiſlature have a right to make laws for them in all affairs of the police; and that they ought to ſubmit to all thoſe laws: but they do not ſay, nor pretend to offer a word, upon what law or authority they found the following *diſtinction*, viz. that the Britiſh parliament can make laws which may take away their lives and liberties, but cannot lay even the ſmalleſt tax upon them. Some of their friends on this ſide the water carry their refinements ſtill further: they admit the denial of *right* in the manner as ſtated by the Americans, and make this *ſubdiviſion*; parliament has a clear and undoubted right to lay ſome kinds of taxes upon the Americans, but not all kinds: for inſtance, it may make any regulations of, or lay any duties upon their trade; but cannot lay any internal taxes on the inhabitants; becauſe they are not repreſented in the Britiſh parliament. To which I will juſt anſwer, that if the faculty of repreſentation is what only gives the power for one kind of taxation, it muſt alſo for the other. Either both require repreſentation, or neither; unleſs it can be proved, which I believe it hardly can, that the right of impoſing one kind of taxation, requires a *greater*, or a *different* authority than the other.

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Now as to the *inexpediency*, it can only be applied in one ſenſe, which is the *time*. Previous to the ſtamp-act, the Americans had been reſtrained in ſome very illicit, but very beneficial, branches of commerce; and ſome other cauſes of diſguſt had been given them: all which put them ſo much out of humour with the mother country, that I have heard many of the candid Americans acknowledge, that the rage poured againſt the ſtamp-act has been more in conſequence of their old and general reſentment, for *other things*, than for any particular grievance, contained ſimply and excluſively in that act. I appeal to every gentleman who has coolly converſed with the Americans, whether this is not the fact; and whether the American gentlemen here do not likewiſe ſay, that if the parliament ſhould not think proper to repeal it, it will be ſubmitted to, with very little, or perhaps no further diſturbance; and then they add, that in its conſequences it will be more felt by Great Britain than America; for it will encourage the Americans to erect all ſorts of manufactures within themſelves, and, in time, to make uſe of nothing that is Britiſh. This is the ſum of their argument. But ſhould it prove true, (which is not very probable, for as the Britiſh manufactures are the beſt, they will naturally turn to them) the parliament of Great Britain, while they preſerve the right of taxation, may, as the riches of the Americans encreaſe, lay further taxes.

But the misfortune of this impolitic diſpute is here. Many of the American gentlemen ſay, that if the parliament ſhould repeal the act, and not give up the right of taxation, the Americans will ſtill entertain the ſame jealouſy of the power of Great Britain, as if the act were not repealed; and will therefore endeavour to arrive at the independency juſt mentioned; ſo that Great Britain muſt either formally and for ever renounce having *any*

authority to tax America, or America will be no longer ſubject to us: and I will venture to add, that if we do renounce our right, either expreſsly or virtually, America will be no longer ſubject to us, than while ſhe thinks fit.

To do juſtice, however, to the ſentiments of all the American gentlemen, with whom I have converſed on this intereſting ſubject, I muſt ſay that there are ſome of them who are ſo honeſt as to reaſon in this manner; that a repeal of the ſtamp-act is neceſſary in order to wholly releaſe America from any dependence on, or jealouſy of, the power of Great Britain; for unleſs ſhe can be rendered totally free, and without the leaſt reſtraint from, or apprehenſion of the authority of the mother country, ſhe will never cordially unite with Britain, or ever be induced to uſe the Britiſh manufactures. And a repeal of that act they ingenuouſly ſay, will ſet her at *full liberty*; and though the parliament ſhould retain the idea of right, yet the circumſtance of the repeal, will be a convincing proof that the parliament cannot execute it. Therefore the repeal will virtually be a full renunciation of the right. And as to a claim of words, it ſignifies nothing. Here they end their reaſoning; the tenor of which is ſufficient authority for affirming, that from the very moment of ſuch repeal, which heaven prevent, the Americans will begin to ſet this country at open defiance; its authority over them will be for ever loſt, and whatever may hereafter be the exigencies of government, or the diſtreſſes of the mother country, yet we cannot from our colonies *command a ſingle ſhilling*. And ſince they have begun the attempt of making and uſing a few of the articles they have hitherto had from Britain, there is no doubt but ſome of them will extend this practice as far as they can. Therefore the trade of Britain to her colonies, is, in ſome meaſure, certain of being

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injured, whether this act be repealed or not. Let us then take that ſtep, which we are ſure will do us the leaſt injury. The colonies are in a flouriſhing condition, increaſing every day in riches, people, and territory. Britain is exhauſted; ſhe is manifeſtly ſinking under her oppreſſive and inſupportable burthens. Can, then, any Britiſh ſubject lay his hand upon his heart, and ſay, it is better to lay *more* taxes on the people in Britain, who have already ſuffered what could have ever been expected, than lay *any* on the colonies, who have yet borne but a *very little?* No: Let us act like what we are, the parents and guardians of the colonies, and treat them like what they are, children and fellow ſubjects; grant all their reaſonable and lawful requeſts; give them their trial by Jury, to which they have a right by their birth; change their governors, and keep a watchful eye over the conduct of new ones. In ſhort, give them every kind of relief and encouragement,—except laying at their feet, our right of *commanding* their aſſiſtance; and making them judges of *our neceſſities.*

In a word, let us continue them, SUBJECTS; not let them become ALLIES.

For theſe, and many other ſtrong reaſons, which would take up too much room of your paper, I am ſincerely of opinion, that the American ſtamp-act *ſhould* NOT *be repealed*; for with the repeal, for ever goes the authority of Great Britain.

A FRIEND TO MY COUNTRY.

On the Britiſh Colonies TRADE *and* COMMERCE.

AS it is ſaid the regulation and extenſion of the trade of the Britiſh colonies are ſhortly to come under conſideration, any light thrown on ſuch important ſubjects may *at this time* prove uſeful and ſeaſonable. The extenſion of trade and commerce, as alſo of the manufactories of Great-Britain, and the

the natural ones of her colonies, are unqueſtionably the true ſprings and ſources of our ſtrength, wealth, and proſperity, as a maritime power. Happy, thrice happy this kingdom, that the preſent miniſtry clearly perceives the truth and neceſſity of adopting this propoſition, which, no doubt, will direct them after removing the interruption of commerce, occaſioned by the ſtamp-act, to purſue the extenſion, by ſtriking off thoſe ſhackles that have unfortunately been put on through falſe principle, clogging and retarding its progreſs and extenſion, contrary to all ſound policy, and the true intereſt of theſe kingdoms.

The complaints of our northern colonies are the want of markets for vending their ſeveral productions, and a channel for receiving returns, which have a natural tendency to encreaſe commerce, ſhipping, ſeamen, and treaſure, that in due time will find its way home to the mother country; for this purpoſe, the exportation of every natural production of North-America, to every part of the Weſt Indies ſhould be encouraged, and permiſſion given to import from all parts of the Weſt-Indies into North-America every kind of produce whatſoever, under ſome few reſtrictions hereafter-mentioned, by which means to become the general carriers for all nations as much as may be; for this purpoſe the free importation of bullion, cotton, hides, dye-wood, cochineal, drugs, ginger, and cocoa, ſhould be allowed, without any reſtriction or limitation; coffee under an eaſy duty, to encourage the culture thereof in the ceded iſlands, that are adapted for it; but ſugar is the great article that is eſſentially exceptionable, and for the following reaſons: The French are in poſſeſſion of immenſe tracts of the moſt fertile ſugar lands (St. Chriſtopher's excepted;) by the amazing fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and other cauſes, they raiſe ſugar fifty per cent. cheaper

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than the Engliſh planter can do; and ſhould they find a vent for that article on the continent of North America, where they have and will continue to make a rapid progreſs in the increaſe of inhabitants, opulence, and wealth, the French planters would be enabled from that ſource to encreaſe and gather ſtrength from year to year, to improve their rich uncultivated land, from whence to ſupply the continent, that in fifty years, may probably be as numerous as Great-Britain, and ſtand fair for engroſſing that ſtaple commodity, which alone at this time employs more ſhipping than their fiſheries, and this at the expence of the Britiſh iſlands, who at preſent make more ſugars than Great-Britain and Ireland can conſume (as will appear by annual exports on the cuſtom-houſe books) to which may be added, the ceded iſlands, which, under encouragement, may within ſeven years make forty thouſand hogſheads, and thereby greatly augment the immenſe revenue produced by the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands; but ſhould the conſumption of French ſugars be permitted upon the continent, would aſk where a vent can be found at a price to anſwer the expence the greateſt part of our planters are at in carrying on their plantations. The natural conſequences muſt be the throwing up Barbadoes, Antigua, and other of the Leeward iſlands, as well as the poor worn-out lands in Jamaica, whoſe cultivation is carried on at ſo heavy an expence. Now the loſs of the former would be moſt ſeverely felt by the North Americans themſelves, as thoſe lands being employed for the cultivation of ſugar only, lays them them under the unavoidable neceſſity of depending upon North-America for all their ſupplies of lumber, proviſions, cattle, &c. to a much larger extent than any other ſettlement whatever. The large and opulent planter would be able to continue the cultivation, and the ſettling the rich lands

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in the ceded iſlands would go on, but could extend no farther for want of land; but all the ſmall planters, who from their number make by far the greateſt quantity of ſugar, would of neceſſity be obliged to throw up their eſtates. Now ſuppoſe the Engliſh planter could not cultivate ſugar under three pounds per cent. when the French could do it at twenty ſhillings, would it be good policy to conſume the latter, which could not be obtained of them but for money, or materials they cannot do without, and for which they muſt pay money, had they not goods to exchange in barter? By which means to throw up the Britiſh ſugar iſlands to augment the French, or to encourage the Engliſh planter, though under ſo exorbitant a price, and by that means to keep and ſupport the number of ſhipping and ſeamen, augment the revenue, and encourage the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures; the natural conſequence attending the proſperity of the Britiſh colonies. To avoid therefore the conſumption of French ſugars, big with evils not ſo eaſily ſeen at preſent, it is propoſed that all Britiſh plantation ſugar, imported into North-America, ſhould have an affidavit made by the planter or merchant, of the place of its growth, quantity and quality of package, with a certificate and clearance of the whole; and on the default of ſuch credentials, to be deemed foreign. And that all ſugar imported into North America, ſhould be reſtricted to the ports of Boſton, New-York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town only, there to be lodged under the King's-locks; and bond to be given for payment of ten ſhillings per cwt. on muſcovado ſugar, and fifteen ſhillings per cwt. on clayed ſugars, for what may be conſumed there, and that is not exported in a limited time after entry. And even under this duty, when the Engliſh iſlands happen to fall ſhort in their crops, the French ſugars will have a prefe-

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rence of the Britiſh. It will alſo be neceſſary to prevent the ſugar going coaſt-wiſe, otherwiſe the ſmuggler would introduce French ſugars into the ports as Britiſh plantation. At firſt ſight this may appear a hardſhip on trade; but then when the number of ports at a ſmall diſtance, from one end of the continent to the other, that every port carries on a trade to and from the Weſt-Indies, almoſt every man of property and credit being a merchant, as alſo the eaſy conveyance by land carriage, when thoſe are duly attended to, the ſeeming hardſhips in a great meaſure vaniſh. The Americans as well as Great-Britain complain, and with reaſon, of the high price of ſugar: but when the importance of the ſugar colonies is conſidered, from whence the annual imports into this kingdom alone amount to two millions and a half, and the exports of Britiſh manufactures conſtantly increaſing in proportion to cultivation (whereas, it is to be feared, they are decreaſing to America) that there is no other method to lower the price of ſugars, conſiſtent with the extenſion of commerce, the vending our manufactures, or encreaſe of revenue, but by encouraging the planter to encreaſe the cultivation to the utmoſt extent of the unſettled lands in the ceded iſlands, and the interior parts of the iſland of Jamaica. With reſpect to the Americans, the extenſion of export, and permiſſion of importing the ſeveral productions, will expand and open a field of commerce, of which they themſelves had no idea or conception; and it is highly probable the returns, exclu-ſive of ſugar, will be more than ſufficient to pay for all the lumber, fiſh, flour, ſtock, &c. (being bulky and of ſmall value) that they can find vend for; but ſhould it prove otherwiſe, they have a recourſe to French ſugar, as a remittance for the manufactures of Great-Britain, and that free of all duty or incumbrance whatſoever: and is it not high-

ly reaſonable that they ſhould ſubmit to a regulation ſo eſſentially neceſſary for encouraging the ſugar colonies, encreaſe of commerce, conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, and encreaſe of revenue? And is not this the moſt likely period for the Americans being diſpoſed to receive it; eſpecially if the preſent duty of eighteen pence per cwt. on Britiſh plantation ſugar be taken off, which raiſes little more than 2000l. per annum, and never anſwered the end propoſed.

It would alſo be neceſſary to ſubject all ſugars, imported into Great-Britain from North-America, to the duty on French, to prevent French from being introduced as Britiſh plantation; alſo all ſugars into Ireland, to be firſt landed in Great-Britain; and that the total prohibition of foreign rum into North-America being continued; and likewiſe to Guernſey and Jerſey, where large quantities have been lately imported from Guadaloupe, to the great prejudice of the ſugar colonies, and the revenue of this kingdom.

With reſpect to molaſſes, it is the moſt eſſential manufactory in America for carrying on the fiſhery and African trade, and being bulky employs a great number of veſſels with a ſmall capital; none of the Britiſh iſlands furniſh this article except Jamaica, and their annual produce doth not exceed 5000 or 6000 hogſheads, which is generally ſold there at twelve pence per gallon, it being ſought for as ballaſt; whereas the import from the French iſlands is near 100,000 hogſheads annually, at the price of ſeven pence halfpenny, ſo that laying a high duty on it cannot affect the Britiſh iſlands. The preſent duty of three pence per gallon, hath not raiſed above 4000l. per annum in North-America, the chief part being ſmuggled; whereas, one penny per gallon on all imported, would raiſe a revenue of 45000l. annually: And it is confeſſedly allowed, that the

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expence of landing ſo bulky a commodity in obſcure bays and creeks, with the carriage from thence to the place of diſtillation, and to market (excluſive of the riſque, which is conſiderable) is not leſs on an average than three farthings a gallon; ſo that it would be their intereſt to pay the duty, and import it into legal ports of diſtillation, conſumption, and ſale; whereas two pence a gallon would be a temptation of 45,000l. to continue ſmuggling as heretofore. But a ſtronger motive ariſes from the French ſtill being open for the fiſhery and African trade; therefore, ſhould a duty be laid upon it in America, equal to the difference of labour there and in the Weſt-Indies, the French iſlands would be enabled to underſell the American, and would not fail to avail themſelves of ſo beneficial a manufactory for the extenſion of their trade, and thereby make ſome amends for the loſs of trade, attending the loſs of their ſettlements in North-America. The preſent method of North-American trade to Africa, is by carrying a load of rum on the coaſt, where they exchange the greateſt part thereof in barter for European goods, to make an aſſortment to purchaſe ſlaves, which are generally carried to Virginia, Maryland, and South-Carolina; ſo that the queſtion is not what molaſſes can bear at preſent, but the alternative, whether France or the colonies ſhall have the preference of ſo important a manufactory, for whoever can bring it cheapeſt to market, will undoubtedly have the preference there. At preſent, the duty on molaſſes paid by eſtimamation, is liable to many frauds, therefore there ſhould be ſtrict regulations in having the caſks gauged, as is rum in England.

Although the North-Americans deem an internal tax, laid by any but themſelves, as a direct breach of their freedom as Britiſh ſubjects, yet they never attempted to diſpute the right of Parliament

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to lay a duty on their exports or imports, as alſo to regulate their trade, and upon which the very being and exiſtence of this kingdom as a maritime power immediately depends. It therefore is of the utmoſt importance to preſerve this power, and rightful ſupremacy, in its fulleſt extent, but at the ſame time exert it with lenity and moderation; for ſhould it once be diſputed or loſt, that rightful power, belonging to this kingdom, would be tranſferred to North-America. Now, though this power is acknowledged, yet hath it been ſhamefully and too effectually evaded by ſmuggling, therefore the only method now left for eſtabliſhing that power, and ſubordination to it, ſo eſſential for preſerving law and government, is by ſimplicity of laws, and eaſy conſtitutional taxes; therefore the laying ſmall taxes upon enumerated piece goods, muſt have had a very different tendency to the plan propoſed, by laying ſhackles upon trade, creating unneceſſary trouble, fees, and officers veſted with power, or trifling occaſions, to give interruptions to trade; whereas a penny on molaſſes, as it is ſmall, reaſonable, and their intereſt to pay it, ſo it is moſt likely to raiſe a revenue, give no temptation to ſmuggling, and bring them into a habit of fair trade, and adopting right principles. With reſpect to the duty, or rather prohibition of the conſumption of French ſugar, it may be ſaid the temptation to continue and promote ſmuggling remains; but this is an article ſo very eſſential to promote the proſperity of the ſugar colonies, the encreaſe of the ſhipping, and commerce and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, and the augmentation of the revenue, as to be well worthy the moſt ſerious examination and attention of the legiſlature. It may be impracticable wholly to prevent the ſmuggling French ſugar into North-America; but it is likely to be done more effectually there than for

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the other goods in Great Britain, where it is moſtly carried on in ſmall crafts and boats from ports near at hand of a few hours or days-ſail, by perſons well ſkilled in every method to evade the law; whereas, in North America, ſmuggling muſt be carried on by veſſels of burden, after a long voyage over the great Atlantic ocean; therefore, it is to be preſumed, that a reaſonable number of cutters, properly ſtationed by making ſome captures, they being valuable, would ſoon diſcourage the unfair trader, who, finding the trade attended with loſs and riſque, would naturally drop it; and when once the ſpirit of ſmuggling was broke, and a due obſervation of law and government eſtabliſhed, the number of cutters might be leſſened: but it may be ſaid, that even this would prove ineffectual to prevent ſmuggling. In that caſe it will be prudent and requiſite to take every poſſible method of eſtabliſhing order and obedience, though attended with the diſagreeable method of more rigorous meaſures; but this is no ways probable, ſo long as they are treated with juſtice and moderation, they having, on all occaſions, and in the moſt trying circumſtances, given unqueſtionable proofs of their loyalty and warm attachment to their own and our happy conſtitution.

Another important object of conſideration is, the prevention of foreign manufactures, teas, &c. (except wine, oil and fruit) being imported into North America, to the great prejudice of the mother country. For this purpoſe, bond ſhould be given by all veſſels at the time of clearing in North America (under proper regulations) that are bound to any part of Europe, and all veſſels bound to the northward of Cape Finiſtre, ſhould be compelled, under forfeiture of ſhip and cargo, to touch at ſome one of the principal ports of Great Britain, in their way home, to undergo a ſtrict examina-

tion, and procure proper certificates for the diſcharge of their bonds, to the regular and due diſcharge whereof the ſtricteſt attention ſhould be paid.

Another branch of trade, worthy the moſt ſerious conſideration, is, the extenſion of Britiſh trade and ſale of manufactuers beyond the bounds of our own ſettlements; the act of navigation, when made, wiſely enjoined all goods whatever being exported to and from the colonies in Britiſh bottoms; but the channel and courſe of commerce being ſince that time greatly altered, it would much extend the ſpirit of that wiſe law to grant permiſſion, after having exported goods in Britiſh bottoms to the utmoſt limits of the Britiſh empire, the vending of goods ſo imported to foreigners, eſpecially in the iſland of Jamaica, as being by nature ſituated for that purpoſe; as alſo permiſſion for foreigners to import into that iſland all the natural productions of the Weſt Indies for payment of the goods and manufactures from Great Britain and Ireland, by which means to extend navigation and commerce to the utmoſt extent: the wealth that pour in from this ſource is inconceivable.

March 5, 1766. S. F. V.

IN France we ſee all the melancholy diſaſters attendant on deſpotiſm. There the laſt ſhadow of national freedom is trod under the feet of tyrannical miniſters; and a brave and loyal people muſt bow the knee to an encroaching adminiſtration, who look down with a contemptuous eye on the laſt remains of the French conſtitution. They trample on the liberties of the people with an unequalled pride, deſpiſe the dignity of parliaments, and contemn the learning of the bar. They confine the Members of Parliament of Britanny in priſons, and preſs the counſellors into the armies; will not permit the moſt decent remonſtrances to approach the

throne,

throne, and barricade the palace againſt the moſt ſubmiſſive complaints.

Although I compaſſionate theſe moſt ſtinging miſeries of our unfortunate neighbours, yet I cannot but regard their melancholy condition, as a beacon erected by Providence in our neighbourhood, in order to warn us to beware of the firſt inroads on our happy conſtitution. We are as yet in the full poſſeſſion of that freedom, whoſe loſs the inſulted French now ſo ſtrongly deplore.

The laws reign in Britain, and our parliament governs by thoſe laws. Our Prince, deſirous of redreſſing every uneaſineſs of his ſubjects, changes his miniſters almoſt as often as the ſeaſons change their appearances; yet we witneſs diviſions among us which threaten every ill a free people can dread. We muſt however acquit our Sovereign; nor can we, with any ſemblance of juſtice, accuſe our parliament of fomenting troubles which they ſtrive to allay. The fault is in ourſelves, and in our miniſters. We cabal, and canton ourſelves into parties; each party ſtriving to obtain, for their particular advantage, an unjuſt preference of their intereſts to the intereſts of the whole. The Americans ſeek a total exemption from taxes laid on by the ſupreme legiſlature, and the cyder counties inſiſt on an immunity from exciſes: equally foes to an impartial diſtribution of public burdens, they attempt to conciliate to themſelves a partial favour, to the prejudice of the public: and our no leſs partial miniſters, actuated by factious views, patronize demands which their duty to the nation commands them to cruſh.

We readily obſerve, that in private families every partial extention of favour to one child, whereby that child is indulged in liberties not conceded to the reſt, immediately lights up the fire of jealouſy, and plants diſcord where mutual affection formerly

bound all in one ſtate of quiet. In nations the ſame effect muſt be conſequent of the ſame cauſe; for human nature is every where the ſame, and deteſts all partial diſtinctions. Kingdoms are but larger families, and whatever practices will diſunite a private family, muſt certainly occaſion combuſtions in the commonwealth. That equality, which all the human race aſpire to, will not ſuffer them, without indignation, to obſerve one ſubject preferred to another in matters of common right. Mankind cannot quietly digeſt ſuch crying injuſtice. The ſupport of the ſtate, by the payment of taxes, is equally the duty of all, and, for this reaſon, none ſhould be allowed to ſlip their necks out of that collar, which obliges them to lay their ſhoulders to a waggon, which all perſons ought to draw. Nor ſhould one be indulged in a ceſſation from labour, when the united ſtrength of the whole is hardly ſufficient to compaſs a neceſſary purpoſe of utility to all. And would our new miniſters pay a proper attention to theſe invariable rules of diſtributive juſtice, we ſhould ſoon ſee all our animoſities buried in that grave, where all honeſt men wiſh to ſee them interred. If an impartial ſpirit, animated by theſe laudable maxims, dictated our miniſterial reſolutions, we ſhould have no occaſion to quote the proceedings of Greece and Rome, in order to prove, that all the citizens of one ſtate ought to be ſubject to the ſame modes of taxation, contribute equally to the ordinary expences of government, and ſubmiſſively receive from the ſame ſupreme legiſlature the neceſſary orders for collecting taxes. Regulations ſo very plain and ſo neceſſary to be attended to in every well governed kingdom, would never be diſputed at our council board, if faction had not reared her hydra head among our miniſters, and, by her inſufferable bawlings, drowned the voice of reaſon and juſtice.

A wife and honeſt miniſter would never approve of extravagant claims, in their own nature tending to kindle in Britain the flames of civil diſſention. We are one people, from the banks of the Miſſiſippi to the furtheſt extent of the charter of the Eaſt-India Company in Aſia, ſubject to one ſupreme legiſlature, and by our fundamental laws entituled to the ſame privileges. Why then ſhould America hope for the uncommon privilege of encountering that legiſlative power in matters of taxation? Why ſhould ſix opulent counties contend for a repeal of the law, impoſing the ſmall additional duties on cyder, and a total exemption from exciſe laws? Or rather, why ſhould our inconſiderate miniſtry without reſentment hear ſuch extravagant demands? An iniquitous partiality could only dictate theſe diſtinguiſhed requeſts, and a baſe compliance with unreaſonable humours alone perſuade their being liſtened to. If the exciſe laws are (as they are generally acknowledged to be) unprecedented violations of Engliſh liberty, why is not the whole kingdom relieved of theſe provoking grievances? But why ſhould the cyder counties alone be enfranchiſed from thoſe marks of oppreſſion, if they are juſtly denominated ſuch? What particular good quality is there to be found in the juice of the apple, that it inſpires the drinkers of cyder with more noble ſentiments of liberty, than they entertain who quench their thirſt with humble home-brewed ale? Or what reaſon can be aſſigned, why all the ſubjects of one crown ſhould not be equally free: but the true motive of ſo injurious an arrangement is not to be ſought for in reaſon; for reaſon never directs partial appointments, ſo deſtructive of peace and unity. Reſolutions of that nature are the acknowledged offſpring of FACTION, which teaches an extention of favour

to all of the ſame party, but excludes the reſt of mankind from the ſame indulgence.

But while our miniſtry ſubmits to be guided by a penſioner who enjoys no reſponſible office, nothing can be expected from them but that diſtraction ſo prevalent in their councils, a growing diſcontent among the people, and at leaſt a general contempt of a government influenced by ſuch an unconſtitutional ſpring. When the prime miniſter is veſted with an office which renders him reſponſible to the public for thoſe advices he gives in private, his head muſt anſwer for the honeſty of his heart: an impeachment may teach him that he is the ſervant of the nation, which decks him with power and titles for the maintenance of the dignity of the ſtate: and a juſt concern for his own ſafety will naturally impel him, in all his plans, to conſult the ſafety of the public. But is it ſo with an unplaced penſioner? Moſt certainly not. A perſon out of office is under no tie to the public: he cannot be obliged to anſwer to the nation for his private opinion in any caſe; nor can he be called to an account for that ſyſtem of politics which is adopted in compliment to his ſentiments, though big with the greateſt abſurdities: his private condition ſhades him from an impeachment, and preſents him with an unbridled licence of adviſing according to the direction of his paſſions or intereſt, without regard to the good of the public. His ſtation, as a penſioner, renders him moſt juſtly ſuſpected. Can we, entertain a good opinion of one who riots in the ſpoils of the public, and accepts the nation's money without being in the ſervice of the nation? Charity to a worthy man in diſtreſs, may in ſome caſes adviſe the diverſon of the treaſures of the kingdom into a channel ordinarily ſo foreign to our national intereſts; but under what colour can the continuance of that pen-

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ſion be demanded, when the cauſe of granting it no longer exiſts? And what judgment ſhall we make of a perſon who, when grown rich, pillages the treaſury annually of large ſums, merely becauſe a grateful and beneficent Sovereign was pleaſed bountifully to ſupport him while in diſtreſs? Such a man to be ſure, when his circumſtances changed from poverty to affluence, would ſpeedily give up a revenue, which the moſt hardened effrontery only could engage him to graſp. If he really was endued with that boaſted regard for this nation which he pretends, he would be very loth to load the kingdom with ſo unneceſſary a burden. If patriotiſm, or even that modeſty ſo natural to men ordinarily good, found an aſylum in his breaſt, he would ſcorn, now he is poſſeſſed of a princely fortune, to glut his avarice by the rapine of taxes raiſed out of the miſeries of our induſtrious poor. Is ſuch a man fit to guide the guiders of the ſtate? A miniſtry ſubmiſſive to ſuch leading-ſtrings, confeſs themſelves unworthy of the high places they hold, paſs the ſevereſt poſſible cenſure upon their own abilities; and are, if the expreſſion is juſtifiable, ſo many living ſatires upon *office*, and the character of the Engliſh nation. And what muſt the people think of an adminiſtration who hold themſelves ſo cheap? In what degree of eſtimation can a ſenſible people regard miniſters whoſe plans are formed by ſuch a hand, whoſe councils give too much encouragement to tumultuous proceedings, and whoſe ſyſtem of government appears to be ſo disjointed and futile?

MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Oppreſſive DUTY *upon* BEER *conſidered.*

WHEN I conſider the enormous load of taxes under which this wretched kingdom labours, and how unequally they are borne by

different members of it, I do not wonder at that murmuring and diſcontent, which prevails amongſt the lower order of people, who contribute more than their proportion to the expences of government. The ſingle article of beer produces annually one million and a half, and geneva about four hundred thouſand pounds: Both which taxes are almoſt wholly paid by the poor and labouring part of the nation. The duty upon wine, which is chiefly the beverage of the great and opulent, does not amount to three hundred thouſand pounds a year. How cruel is it that the ſons of labour and induſtry, who are ſcarce able to earn their daily bread, ſhould contribute in drinkables only, above SIX TIMES THE SUM that is paid by the wealthy! In a country like this, which depends for its ſtrength and riches on its manufactures, the neceſſaries of life ſhould eſcape as free as poſſible from taxation, becauſe they are common to the poor and to the rich, in almoſt the ſame proportion; and it is impoſſible that they ſhould be taxed without increaſing the price of labour, which it is for the benefit of commerce to be kept moderate and reaſonable. It is a miſtaken notion that numbers and not affluence, are the proper object of taxation; for every duty that is contrived to fall principally on the lower or middling part, which is the bulk of the nation, is unjuſt, iniquitous, and execrable. Let all the ſuperfluities, elegancies, and luxuries of life be taxed and retaxed over and over: Double or triple the duty upon *plate* and *coaches*, as well as upon *dice* and *cards*: It is not fit that vanity and vice ſhould be free and unreſtrained, while the moſt galling ſhackles are impoſed upon labour and induſtry.

I am at a loſs to conceive what could ſo egregiouſly miſlead the *celebrated Commoner* from all the feelings of humanity for the poor and induſtrious,

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when he laid the *additional duty upon beer*, a commodity that was even then taxed *three times over*; and if we conſider the general conſumption was at too high a price to admit of the ſmalleſt additional burthen. It was not neceſſity that drove him to ſuch a deſperate meaſure; for a tax was propoſed at the ſame time to be laid upon ſugar; which was every way preferable to that upon beer, if we conſider that the one is an abſolute neceſſary of life, and the other is a ſuperfluity: the chief conſumers of the one are the poor and induſtrious, the other indeed is an article of general conſumption, but falls heavieſt where it ought to do, upon the rich and opulent; the latter could not be collected but by an odious exciſe, the former is under the cuſtoms, and is withal too bulky a commodity to allow of being ſmuggled. It is difficult to accouut for the additional duty, that was laid upon beer, in preference to one upon ſugar, from any other motives than the private attachment and partiality of the Great Commoner, which led him to oppreſs a multitude of his fellow citizens in the moſt grievous manner, rather than ſubject ſome rich and overgrown merchant to the ſligheſt, perhaps only imaginary inconvenience.

But how unjuſt and oppreſſive muſt not the beer tax appear, when we compare the condition of the counties where this is the common beverage, with that of the cyder counties! No private family can brew their own beer, without buying their malt ready taxed, at nine pence per buſhel, or paying a compoſition for making malt themſelves, or five ſhillings a head by the year: beſides which they muſt buy their hops ready taxed, or if they grow them, ſubmit to exciſe of a penny per pound, before they can make uſe of their own produce. The caſe of the beer drinker is ſtill harder, if he purchaſes his beer of a common brewer, who is

obliged

obliged to pay an enormous duty of eight ſhillings per barrel. I have already acquainted my readers, that, by a calculation which has been made, every poor hard-working man in this great metropolis, take them one with another, drinks four quarts of beer a day. He pays therefore *to the government* for this ſingle article of beer, no leſs a ſum than FOUR POUNDS per ann. beſides an additional ſum of ONE POUND TEN SHILLINGS, and FIVE PENCE a year, extorted from him by the brewer and victular together, who doubled the additional tax that was laid by the great Commoner upon this article. What an enormous ſum is this to ſqueeze out of the labour of the poor and indigent part of mankind! and how much reaſon has the beer-drinker to complain of oppreſſion, when he reflects upon his fellow ſubjects who were ſo fortunate as to be born in the cyder-counties, have their common drink not only free from exciſe, but, by this new regulation of the cyder-bill, *free from duty* too, while he, poor wretch, is obliged to pay above FIVE POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS A YEAR DUTY, for his common beverage! Where were the R——— of the beer counties; where were the M——— of the city of London, when this partial and unjuſt regulation was ſuffered to paſs? Cyder is the *common drink* in the ſeveral counties where it is made; it is their ſmall-beer, porter, ale, and wine: is it juſt, is it reaſonable, that five or ſix hundred thouſand perſons ſhould be exempt from all duty in theſe ſeveral articles, while the reſt of the kingdom cannot touch one of them, without paying an extravagant impoſition? what aggravates the diſtreſs of the beer counties ſtill further is, that even the *cyder tax itſelf* is now *laid upon them*: the maker of cyder pays no duty; and in the ſeveral cyder counties almoſt all the houſe-keepers are makers; conſequently they drink their cyder, duty free;—while the poor

beer

beer drinker, if he has a mind for a glaſs of cyder, is obliged to pay a duty, for he has no opportunity of making it. Is not this a ſcandalous impoſition upon the beer counties? and is it not incumbent on the ſeveral inhabitants of them, to draw up the ſtrongeſt petitions and remonſtrances to their repreſentatives, to procure them relief from ſuch partiality and oppreſſion?

A CONSTITUTIONALIST.

Additional TAX *upon* WINDOWS *conſidered, April* 1766.

OF all the taxes with which this unhappy nation is burthened, that on windows is the moſt abſurd and the moſt unnatural To extend it, is to extend thoſe abſurdities with which it is fraught; and to increaſe it, is mocking our miſeries and hiſſing at our calamities.

Every tax on property ought to bear ſome proportion to the property from which it is levied. The moſt valuable property ought to be moſt burthened, and the poſſeſſor of the leſs valuable ſubject ſhould be decreed to make a leſs payment to the public. But in this tax every rule of propriety is tranſgreſſed, every appointment of equity deſpiſed. What would we ſay of the exciſe on malt liquors, if a gallon of ſmall beer paid as much as a gallon of porter? And what of the land tax, if it was laid on by the number of acres, without other conſideration? Yet the ſame incongruity is viſible in the tax on windows; for every houſe, be its locality where it will, conſiſting of ſeven windows, is equally taxed, without taking in any other conſiderations, although, perhaps, no two things in nature are more different in value and produce, to the poſſeſſor a more different income or advantage, whether that income is conſidered as conſiſting in ſplendor or conveniency, or any other ſolid benefit.

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The diſtinguiſhing value of moſt houſes, we all know, ariſes from their different ſituations. Hardly any two fields conſiſting of the ſame number of acres differ more in value from each other than two houſes of the ſame number of windows in different ſituations. A houſe of ſeven or ten windows at, or within one hundred yards of the Exchange of London, is as much (if not *more*) different in value from a houſe of ſeven or ten windows in ſome parts of Northumberland, as the richeſt field of ſeven or ten acres in Middleſex, differs in value from the worſt field of the ſame extent in Norfolk or Cumberland. And in the ſame city, town or borough, nay in the ſame quarter of the ſame city, a different locality gives a different value to a houſe whoſe number of windows is the ſame. The intereſt of every poſſeſſor, in the houſe he holds, is his property in that houſe, and is more or leſs valuable to him according to the advantages or diſadvantages attendant on its ſituation, dimenſions, and many other circumſtances; yet all this juſt reaſoning is over-looked in the collection of the window tax; and the ſame duties are every where levied from houſes having the ſame number of windows, to the indelible diſgrace of our national juſtice. Can any abſurdity be greater, than to collect for the uſe of the public the ſame duties from objects of ſo very different values? To plan the raiſing of taxes in this manner is to plan the eſtabliſhment of iniquity by a law; and to plan the increaſe of a tax of this ſort is, in effect, to plan the enlargement of injuſtice.

To this unexceptionable argument againſt the tax on windows, or an extenſion of that tax, it may probably be anſwered, that the ſums levied by this tax are ſo trifling, that neither the inequalities above taken notice of, nor any other that may be figured, merit conſideration; that if every circum-

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ſtance was in this caſe to be minutely conſidered, the trouble and expence of reducing all thoſe differences to a nice equation would much exceed the profits accruing to the public from the tax in queſtion; for it often happens, that houſes of the ſame number of windows, cloſely adjoining to each other, differ greatly in value from each other, eſpecially if one of them fronts a great ſtreet or an accuſtomed thoroughfare, and the other ſtands in a more retired ſituation, ſecreted from view and opportunities of commerce; that thoſe varieties of circumſtances which alter the value of houſes of the ſame number of windows, both in town and country are ſo numerous, that it is hardly poſſible to pay a juſt attention to them all, and that for this reaſon; becauſe there is no other way of eluding an infinity of conteſts which never could be ended. The moſt eligible method in this affair, is that already fixed on, which is to compel the ſame payment from all houſes of the ſame number of windows, after an allowance of ſome of ſmall dimenſions with few windows for the habitation of the poor.

A very conciſe anſwer, indeed, in behalf of an injurious tax. But, doth not the whole of this fine ſtory amount to this plain aſſertion, That the injuſtice obſervable in planning this tax, ought to be over-looked, either becauſe the iniquity, though general, yet very little hurts each dividual, or becauſe it would take a great deal of trouble to rectify it? And is not that argument eaſily refuted? Have thoſe who reaſon in this manner forgot that the obſervation of the invariable laws of juſtice is never to be neglected on any account whatever? That the correction of general iniquity can never, in any caſe, be conſidered as an unimportant object? That the diſtribution of juſtice is the ſole, as well as the main end of government?

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That every government, where this great object of ſociety is neglected, deviates into tyranny? That the proſpect of obtaining one common protection for property, on payment of taxes proportioned to its value in the hands of the poſſeſſor, is the great inducement which engages mankind to ſubmit to be ruled by their equals, and that to diſappoint this hope is a moſt open attack on the ſafety of mankind in an aſſociated ſtate. Who has a legal power to compel ſubmiſſion to injuſtice? The law of nations forbids iniquity of every ſort; and certain I am, that no man is authoriſed by any law, expreſsly revealed or implied in nature, to commit injuſtice. A right to do wrong cannot exiſt. Is it impracticable to levy this tax on houſes without tranſgreſſing the invariable laws of juſtice? If ſo, it ought to be diſcarded. The inviolable laws of juſtice are not to be bent in order to gratify the avarice or ignorance of arbitrary miniſters. It is alſo evident, that nature, as well as juſtice, revolts againſt the conſtitution or extenſion of this tax. The Sun freely diſpenſes his light and heat to all creatures. The air, by the diſpoſition of the Author of Nature, animates all living beings. Who then can rightfully intercept theſe bleſſings of Providence from another, or compel him to pay for what nature freely gives for the ſupport of all creatures? Who can deprive us of the cheering effects of light, the ſolar heat and air? Or who can make us pay for what we cannot be lawfully deprived of? Muſt we turn ſuicides by depriving ourſelves of the ſalubrity of the air, or pay for that principle of life which Heaven diſpenſes to all breathing creatures? According to this law we muſt exclude the enlivening breeze from our dwelling places, and convert our chambers into unhealthy, as well as dark caves, or pay to man for what man cannot lawfully take from us; we muſt

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ſubmit to every wanton excurſion of miniſterial inſolence, and buy from man what man cannot ſell. Many of our taxes are an invaſion on the right of the human race; but this on window lights is an invaſion on the rights of Heaven, and a proſcription of the Sun.

We have already been ſubjected to laws which were contrary to the original charter of our liberties, and which have been impoſed by avaritious and griping miniſters. We have yielded to taxations on all the neceſſaries of life, while our ſuperiors, as they think themſelves, enjoy almoſt every branch of luxury free from taxes. We have allowed our liberties to be trampled upon by exciſe laws, and our properties to be taken from us; muſt we alſo ſubmit to be ſhut up in unwholeſome caves and condemned to ſpend our days in darkneſs, or ſubmit to be amerciated for admitting light and air into our houſes?

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

[*When the ſcheme of the above tax was brought into a great aſſembly, Mr. P. attended, but finding that was the buſineſs, he retired into a private room with Lord C—d—n; which occaſioned the following letter.*]

Diurna populi per provincias caratus legantur ut noſcatur quid Thraſea non *fecerit.* TACIT.

THOUGH I do not approve of circulating perſonal reflections, and of calling the attention of the public to the private ſquabbles and conduct of individuals; yet I have ever thought that *public* men are to be *publicly* judged; and for this reaſon I wiſh to ſtate my obſervations on the part which a man of very popular character has lately *not* taken on a very intereſting occaſion, hop-

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ing to receive from his profeſſed apologiſts ſome ſatisfactory explanation.

When the tax, which may now be well conſidered as impoſed, was firſt brought on in a reſpectable aſſembly, this gentleman, without even the pretence of ill health, thought proper to abſent himſelf.

He could not be ignorant of what every body knew, that on the day on which this tax was to be propoſed, the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to its finances, was to be explained. It was of importance that he ſhould be then preſent to examine the truth of it, and to bear his teſtimony, or oppoſe his influence, as the occaſion might require. It was expected, that a tax, already called confeſſedly grievous, was to be extended to a lower rank of men, than had been yet made ſubject to it. His duty to his conſtituents required his attendance, and he ſhould have remembered, that the preſerving them from grievous or unneceſſary taxes was one chief reaſon of his being deputed by them. Be the merits of this tax what it may, thoſe conſtituents have a right to complain, that he did not think that merit worth his enquiry, or the protection of them deſerving of his care; but though well enough, and actually appearing in the metropolis, went to his villa in the country. But this is the lighteſt cauſe of complaint. When this matter underwent a ſecond conſideration; when all informations relative to the tax muſt have been received; when all his doubts reſpecting the objects of it muſt have been removed; and when it appeared by the confeſſion of thoſe who impoſed it, that more than half of the neceſſary ſum was to be wrung from the hands of our loweſt peaſants, he, who had oppoſed the lighteſt tax on America, would not hold up his hand to prevent the impoſition of the heavieſt in

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Great-Britain. His friends had pledged him, and the character on which he moſt relies, that of *the man of the people*, required him to exert all his eloquence in their defence. Their breath had formerly ſupported him againſt his moſt dangerous rivals—and he repaid them, by deſerting their intereſt in the moſt critical moment: nay, he was actually as even preſent when this point was in diſcuſſion, and immediately retired. This favoured tribune of the people could ſit for five long hours, almoſt within hearing of the arguments uſed in their defence, and refuſed to lend one helping voice for their relief; perhaps he reſerved that voice for the purpoſes of his own ambition and revenge. It could not be his conſideration for the preſent m—y, which kept him ſilent. In his adjacent cabin he was meditating thoſe expreſſions of reſentment andcontempt, which he afterwards ſo liberally applied to them. The intereſt of theſe they have ſeen, eluded, and deſpiſed; and I cannot but lament, that he waſted upon an occaſion of ſo much inferior importance, an indignation, which might have been employed in the relief of his country.

A Citizen of Bath.

On domeſtic grievances, the dearneſs of proviſions, &c.

INTESTINE evils carry in their faces a more ſubverſive tendency to the Britiſh ſtate, than any war it can poſſibly wage againſt the combined powers of its natural enemies; and when theſe evils are various and complicated, they muſt neceſſarily perplex and embarraſs the wiſeſt miniſter; whoſe ſituation is not then unlike that of a merchant, when his affairs are intricate and confuſed; and if there is not a ſpirit of fortitude for perſeverance equal to a capacity for contrivance, deſtruction and reproach muſt enſue. Abilities alone, on theſe occaſions, are inſufficient; there muſt be a reſolu-

tion to combat, and an induſtry not to be wearied, in ſuppreſſing and removing every impediment that lies before him; attentive always to engage thoſe firſt, which are the moſt noxious and ruinous, that others of an inferior nature may fall the eaſier conqueſt. An united exertion then of theſe qualities in an upright miniſter, can alone effect a happy redreſs of theſe our preſent grievances, which neither admit of controverſy, nor challenge abſtruſe enquiries, but are felt by every houſekeeper, and viſible to every beholder; and which cannot be overlooked without endangering the public tranquility, nor delayed without incurring a popular abhorrence.

Want is to be conſidered in various lights, and eſtimated from its different conſequences, or the beſt arguments can draw no juſt concluſions, neither will the moſt ſkilful diſputants be able to give perfect ſatisfaction. The *want* which I propoſe to examine in our preſent letter, is a national one; not more big with miſchief, than full of diſtreſs; we are therefore to reckon it of the moſt dangerous ſort in its events, and alſo of the moſt intereſting importance to the people. Whoever hath in the leaſt attended to the miſeries of our poor, need not be told, that the *want* I mean, IS THE WANT OF FOOD.

Life cannot poſſibly be ſupported without its neceſſaries, and when theſe are not within the reach of induſtrious poverty, we are to conſider it as a poſitive evil, and not more injurious to individuals, than dangerous to the ſtate. That the common neceſſaries of life do not fall to the ſhare of many thouſand families in this kingdom, is eaſily to be proved from a proper inſpection into the preſent exorbitant price of every article of proviſions, which are raiſed to ſuch an oppreſſive and iniquitous degree, that even ſome private gentlemen of ſix and

ſeven hundred pounds a year clear eſtate (to ſupport their uſual propriety of character) find it *now* difficult to maintain a family of any moderate number of children; and men too that are enemies to luxury, addicted to no vices, keep no equipage, and admit of no ſupernumerary ſervant whatever. As this therefore is a notorious truth, (for the proof of which I appeal to every gentleman who is poſſeſſed of that fortune, and who has a family of four or five children to maintain) how then is it poſſible for mechanics and inferior tradeſmen to ſuſtain the complicated evils of oppreſſion, eſcape the danger of bankruptcy, or preſerve their families from ruin, when their net comings in, perhaps, does not exceed fourſcore pounds a year? Experience is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of facts; and every contradiction to experienced facts, infers a baſeneſs of principle, or a weakneſs of underſtanding: leaſt our miniſters then ſhould be impoſed on, or miſled, by the partial reaſoning of our pauper adverſaries, let me earneſtly recommend to their conſideration a full ſurvey of their own domeſtic expences, diveſted of all the ſuperfluous charges of luxurious and vicious articles, and they will then have a juſt view of the impoſſibility of the poor obtaining the worſt offal meats to feed their families, or even a little cheeſe to reliſh their bread; and at the ſame time they will be alſo convinced of the neceſſity of the ſpeedy adoption of ſome ſcheme that may adminiſter relief, and felicitate the people.

Prudence and œconomy were never become ſuch neceſſitated virtues as in theſe hard times of oppreſſion and ſcarcity; and if many private gentlemen of middling fortunes cannot reſerve any ſum for contingencies, much leſs to ſave any part of their income for their children; if THEY are ſo deeply affected from our preſent grievances as to utter their fears with a *feeling* emphaſis, and indicate ruin with

heart-burſting ſighs, how much more affected by them muſt even creditable tradeſmen be? and if we will but extend our reſearches to a farther examination, how much more affected ſtill muſt all other inferior ranks of the people be, down from the ſhopkeeper to the man that bears the load of heavier labour? Think upon theſe things, ye rulers of the land! and every objection to the truth of what has hitherto been offered on this ſubject, will appear, upon an inquiry, to be partial, oppreſſive, and tyrannical.

Bread is the primary ingredient of life; and that our poor might be ſupplied with that article at a reaſonable price, I have already pointed out the neceſſity of prohibiting the uſual exportation of corn, and the prudence of aboliſhing the bounty-money eſtabliſhed by law, which are the two finiſhing ſtrokes to defeat all monopolizing of lands and farms, and the very ONLY means whereby we can propoſe to reduce our wheat at a moderate value in our own markets. Every impartial inveſtigator of political diſquiſition will admit the force of theſe truths, and join to explode a meaſure that exhauſts the fatneſs of our fields, and ſaps the foundation of the ſtate.

Proviſions are the next eſſential neceſſaries that are required to preſerve our beings while we make our abode in this world; and the chief of theſe, which the lower ranks of the people of this kingdom have ever been accuſtomed to, are meats of the groſſer kind; and without which they cannot ſuſtain the duty of hard labour, ſo immediately dependent on their ſervice, nor even ſubſiſt with any energy of healthy vigour. For the ſpeedier reduction then of the preſent extravagant price of theſe articles, it would not be amiſs to eſtabliſh a parliamentary encouragement for the raiſing of live cattle of all kinds, with a forbiddance, under large fines,

fines, to ſell, kill, or otherwiſe diminiſh the ſeveral females of the reſpective beaſts, for the term of three years; becauſe the infinity of procreation derives its numbers from the preſervation of the feminine part of the creation; and whoſe different ſpecies are eaſily propagated by a judicious appointment of a ſingle male to each diſtinct kind of beaſts. Something like this, I humbly conceive, will be the quickeſt way to introduce ſuch a plenty in the kingdom, as may diſappoint the iniquity of foreſtalling in all its various branches of inhuman conduct. Popular remonſtrances demand a regulation in our markets, and if ſome meaſure of this tendency is not ſoon carried into execution, the alternative is very obvious.

In proſecuting a plan on theſe principles, as is hinted, it may be urged, that if no female beaſts are brought to market, the price of meats during that time muſt be conſiderably augmented, and that a greater ſcarcity muſt unavoidably enſue? To all which I anſwer, if foreſtalling and regrating be totally aboliſhed, the objection will leſſen in its appearance, and will moreover be compleatly removed if the propoſed embargo on corn takes place till the quartern loaf ſinks to three pence, and thereat to remain for ever, ſhort harveſts excepted. But how is foreſtalling and regrating to be effectually aboliſhed? How, but by puniſhing the delinquents with death, offering conſiderable rewards for the encouraging informations, and exerciſing the ſpirit of the laws with due exertion of unremitted vigour. But, in fact, there is no ſuch thing as a real ſcarcity of proviſions in this country, as can be proved to a mathematical demonſtration; we are therefore not to ſhrink at ſhadows when we mean to conquer evils; and to expect the bleſſing of Providence is to deſerve it.

Every age bears the marks of ſome peculiar vice, and monopolization ſeems to be the curſe of the preſent! It is in vain to civilize ſerpents, or humanize ſharks; to extirpate their very race is a leſſon we are taught from reaſon and ſelf-preſervation, and whoſoever is remiſs in this duty, expoſes his perſon to danger and deſtruction. Monopolizers therefore are not to be argued with; they muſt be cruſhed; no ſerpent is more venomous, and no ſhark more voracious! Exhortation is fruitleſs, and reproof but loſt labour; authority then muſt interpoſe with its iron arm of power, and puniſhment effect what virtue hopes! Let me not be thought rigid while our oppreſſors are triumphant, nor clamorous while our miſery is poignant. To be ſilent is to be timid, and to be awed is to be ſervile! Periſh the wretch that trembles in the cauſe of God, or knows a fear but his Creator's wrath.

Purchaſes themſelves muſt be regulated to maintain the balance of freedom in the landed intereſt, and a ſcheme which hath been hinted at in the papers for limiting a certain number of acres to be tilled by one man, is extremely deſerving of legiſlative approbation, and which I hope to ſee confirmed by their voice before the preſent ſeſſion expires.

But as much as I applaud any propoſal for repreſſing the univerſal increaſe of engroſſing farmers, yet I muſt entirely diſſent from the opinions of ſome in regard to the advantages attending exportation; for it is evident our poor will never enjoy any plenty without obtaining that embargo on corn, which they ſo much oppoſe. The inference that is drawn with France is no parallel. France is not ſo fertile a country as England, and her lands are chiefly turned into vineyards; her poor, therefore, do not want from their not being encouraged to agriculture for the benefit of exporting their corn, but becauſe the

country

country itſelf cannot produce a ſufficient quantity to ſpare an exportation. This is the caſe; and the notoriety of which is not to be controverted. Let any one produce better reaſons to prove the general utility of his favourite ſyſtem, or he will be charged with ſiniſter motives; and as to making the exportation of our corn the *medium* whereby we muſt pay the intereſt of that part of the national debt due to our neighbours, it is infinitely more dangerous to the ſtate in the end than was it paid in real ſpecie; which we have no reaſon to expect, or dread, while we can ſupport our manufactories; and that will be impoſſible, if the artiſts are not oppreſſed; for nothing adds more to our oppreſſion than the exportation of corn. Another reaſon to evince the propriety of perpetual embargoes (under certain reſtrictions) it will encourage the revival of rearing flocks and herds, which have of late years been ſo greatly neglected for the growing of corn. Inſomuch has the public been prejudiced by monopolizing farmers and landholders, that thoſe little farms which were formerly appropriated to the uſe of raiſing poultry, and which kept a few cows to make butter and cheeſe, even theſe have been ſwallowed up in corn-fields by the voracious cormorants of exporting agents; and this being a pretty general practice, it naturally contributed to enhance the price of meat, poultry, butter, cheeſe, and eggs. From hence (and many other reaſons frequently urged in my paſts letters) the reader will be able to judge of the abſolute neceſſity of a perpetual embargo on corn; let us, therefore, unanimouſly pray and inſiſt that our miniſters do take the merits of our complaints into their ſerious conſideration, and haſten the redreſs of a people who are on the borders of Famine, and almoſt in the very jaws of Ruin.

April 23. OMEGA.

The ſame ſubject continued.

BASE attempts argue baſe minds. They can diſappoint with a ſmile, or ruin even with a compliment. Scarce leſs heinous, indeed, is intentional, than actual evil; and ſeverely would it be puniſhed by law, it is preſumed, was it not from the univerſality of its practice, and the uncertainty of aſcertaining the juſt damages which the party aggrieved may ſuſtain. Nevertheleſs, in the eye of virtue, every ſuggeſtion that hints an injury, or inſinuates a falſhood, is held in the ſame deteſtation, as is the real commiſſion of the crime itſelf. To contradict, therefore, the preſent diſtreſsful ſituation of our Poor, which is viſible to every ſpectator, and to deny the exiſtence of grievances which are felt by the whole community, are ſuch groſs abſurdities, as are to be numbered with thoſe only that compoſe the principles of rank ſtoiciſm, and ought to be treated with contempt and condemnation.

Arithmetic is but of little uſe in the adjuſting œconomical expences, if we can be perſuaded to believe that a joint of meat coſts no more at this time than what it did thirty years ago; and feeling muſt be conſidered as a ridiculous affectation to remonſtrate againſt the hardſhips of want, if the proof of it is to be refuted by logical demonſtration; yet, ſuch attempts have been made, in oppoſition to certain truths which have been occaſionally maintained, and even denied too with an unfeeling remorſe, in ſpite of the daily experience of a whole kingdom. It requires no ſupernatural abilities to detect the real cauſe. The *offender* and the *defender* are too cloſely connected to impoſe on a diſcerning reader; and when men are ſhameleſs in their actions, we cannot expect to find truth in their writings. Corrupt ſentiments are the mirrour of a corrupt heart, and the mind of the man is often to be read from the ſtyle of the writer. Examples

to

to the contrary may be produced, as I have known a very bad inſtrument to afford tolerable harmony from the ſkilfulneſs of the player; but it is not every inſtrument that is bad, neither is every man an hypocrite.

In ſpeculative ſciences, there is oftentimes great room for contradiction and diſputation, becauſe we hardly differ more in our faces than we do in our opinions; but concerning the many evils with which this country is at preſent curſed, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment that there ſhould be a ſingle individual to revile the objects who groan under theſe evils, much leſs to ſet about in a ſerious manner to diſprove the reality of them. Such brazen adverſaries are enough to rouſe the indignation of a Saint, and are highly deſerving an expulſion from all civil ſocieties whatever; for the men that will make light the miſeries of a people, will never be backward to abet the ruin of a ſtate.

Government owes its exiſtence to the harmony of the governed, and every new intruſion of impolitic ill, or glaring inattention to popular complaint, pays its foundation, and paves the way for anarchy and deſtruction; none then can be the friends of Government that are not promoters of tranquility, nor fit members to rule who are not apt to redreſs. Monarchy, likewiſe, derives its protection from the unity of its ſubjects, and which cannot be built on a more ſolid baſe than the love of the people; whoſe affection muſt eternally be kept alive by actions of public utility, and whoſe will muſt be flattered by a coincidence of national education. Every ſtate, in fact, is nothing more than a larger family, governed only by different laws; if the head of the latter is unacquainted with the quarrels of his ſervants, omits exerciſing the power of eſtabliſhed rules, overlooks their wants, and oppreſſes them in their labour, they will naturally deſert his ſervice;

and

and if the former alſo is remiſs in its duties, the ſubjects will revolt from their allegiance.

Long has the public been in expectation of ſeeing ſome meaſure adopted to regulate the heavy price of proviſions, but our expectations are not likely to be felicitated this ſeſſion. Were the ſcenes of our grievances to be rehearſed at Newmarket, they may perhaps grow intereſting, ſince that is the theatre for the exertion of miniſterial talents; but ſurely if the importance of a character is not preſerved with propriety in public, we have but little encouragement to hope it is maintained with dignity in private! Equally ridiculous and unbecoming is it to behold a miniſter of ſtate figuring it on the Turf, as to ſee a Primate acting Foppington the ſtage, or a Lord Chancellor jigging with a ſett of milkmaids round the May-garland. Let me not be charged with arrogance for cenſuring men in the application of their time, which, it may be thought, they are at liberty to ſpend as they pleaſe. But we deny it. A miniſter is one of the firſt ſervants of the people, and the people have a right to cenſure him if he miſapplies his time, or acts beneath the dignity of his office. They, therefore, who frequent the Turf, and other places of diſſipation, can have but little leiſure for the weighty concerns of ſtate; and as the country pays them for their time, their time ought to be wholly devoted to the ſervices of their country. Every juſt reflection I here caſt upon our preſent miniſters by their enemies, pains me not a little, becauſe I reſpect their characters; and as a well-wiſher, it is my duty to wake their attention with ſuch hints as may be improved upon to their honour. Patriots I do not deem any of them; for old as I am, never ſaw I a patriot yet; for while a country is loaded with ſo immenſe a debt as ours is, and its principal officers do not ſerve her gratis, they are not to be

honoured

honoured with the appellation of patriots, even if their conduct otherwiſe be ever ſo meritorious. Among all the Britiſh Nobles, is there not *one*, *one* patriot worthy to introduce ſo juſt, ſo diſintereſted a faſhion? If the privilege of cuſtom is pleaded, let us ſay with *Hamlet*, that it would be more honoured in the breach than the obſervance.

It is remarked, that when ſome evils are at the worſt, they will ſoon mend. May the obſervation be literally verified in our preſent reigning grievances; for, ſurely, they are now at their criſis! Not a ſingle ſober company but comments on the ill proſpect of the times; and the exceſſive dearneſs of proviſions is become a topic of converſation even in the moſt affluent companies. They begin to talk *learnedly* on the ſubject; nor ſhould I be ſorry to ſee them droop *feelingly* under the oppreſſion of it, becauſe the poor would be then ſooner redreſſed. No longer than laſt week a certain great man declared his reſolution, within my hearing, to keep a leſs number of carriages, and not from any loſs ſuſtained by play, but from an examination of his domeſtic expences, he finds, it ſeems, they have increaſed ſo rapidly on him theſe three laſt years, that he is under a neceſſity to retrench betimes. I ſecretly applauded his intentions, and I heartily wiſh the example may daily ſpread through all the kingdom. Certain it is, that a private gentleman of ſmall fortune, at the head of a family, can but barely now keep within its limits without encroaching on the principal. I mean one that does not contaminate his palm in any cauſe whatever, that injures no connection, and oppreſſes no ſervant. Some there are, indeed, who do not poſſeſs a clear income of 1000l. a year in any viſible eſtate, place, or profeſſion; yet live at the known rate of two thouſand pounds a year; but their reſources are too deteſtable for an honeſt mind to embrace; we are not, therefore, to draw a parallel

rallel caſe between theſe two gentlemen in contradiction of the difficulty of the former in maintaining a family with a poſitive eight hundred pounds a year, and the latter figuring off in ſplendor, and yet in actual poſſeſſion of no greater eſtate than the other. Injuries, ſooner or later, muſt be ſomewhere felt by ſuch conduct; and ſorry I am to ſay, that it is a conduct much in vogue.

Sumptuary laws, therefore, muſt be revived to baniſh luxury from inferior tables, and give the finiſhing blow to our repeated bankruptcies; or imperfect will be the effects of every remedy that ſhall be obtained to promote the public good, and ſtill oppreſſive muſt be the fate of our labouring poor. The completion of ſo happy an event will ſuppreſs the prevailing temptations to the many vices in mode among the Great, cruſh the abſurd imitation of living in the faſhion with the Mediocrity, and annihilate the motives of illicit tranſactions practiſed by the vulgar. It will, indeed, be productive of real ſtrength to the ſtate, diffuſe a general reformation among the people, and perpetuate infinite bleſſings to poſterity. None, then, but a profeſſed enemy to his country will oppoſe a plan of this nature, which is evidently pregnant with interior harmony, and univerſal proſperity.

Every ſpecies of luxury is a declenſion from virtue; and an exceſs of its vaults into turpitude, or ends in deſtruction! Ought not then a ſtate, pure in its religion, civilized in its manners, and renowned for its wiſdom, always to be attentive to the dangerous luxuries of a people, and contrive certain laws whereby they may reſtrain the growing licentiouſneſs of a vice, which has ſo often enſlaved the braveſt people, and overthrown the mightieſt empires? No rank, no birth, no fortune whatever is entitled to ſet ill examples, nor launch beyond the limits of national good order. Againſt THESE chiefly

chiefly we muſt frame wholeſome laws, and ſo ſtrong and full, as to bind even the opulent Peer, who brags of ſpending BUT TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR MORE THAN HIS ANNUAL INCOME. Luxury is the key of venality, and to facilitate a diſcouragement of it, it is more than probable but it will beſt ſucceed from the revival of ſumptuary laws, and ſumptuary laws are now become indiſpenſably neceſſary and juſt.

A regulation for the better furniſhing our poor with proviſions at a reaſonable price is an object of the utmoſt conſequence to the tranquility of the people, and the ſafety of the ſtate. Let us not trifle with miſery, nor wanton it over adverſity; for it is folly to mock the weak, and inhuman to inſult the wretched. That many ſcores of induſtrious ſhopkeepers in this metropolis do evidently groan under the real calamity of pinching want, is too flagrant a truth to admit of even the ſhadow of a contradiction. If their expences increaſe a third upon them without an increaſe of family, can their buſineſs poſſibly ſupport them, eſpecially when we all know that our trade is on the decline? The advance of a ſingle farthing in the pound on any one article that is daily conſumed in a family will amount to no contemptible trifle at the expiration of the year in a poor man's diary; and if there is not only an advance of farthings, but even pence, on every individual neceſſary of life, muſt not the amount of their expences be conſiderably augmented? And can it be denied but that their condition too muſt be reduced to a ſtate of bankruptcy and ruin? Excluſive of all loſſes, if the net profits of my employment, profeſſion or buſineſs, amount to no more at this period than what they did ſeven years ago, and my family expences are *now* one third higher to what they *then* were, though the very ſame in number, frugal as heretofore, laborious as uſual, and

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ſober in conduct, muſt not my property be diminiſhed, and will not my affairs haſten into deſtruction? And that ſuch is the preſent ſituation of our poor, I dare proclaim it to all the world. And until their grievances are redreſſed, I will not ceaſe proclaiming them aloud, nor fear publiſhing them even in the very gates of our rulers.

OMEGA.

The other ſide.

IT is amazing that your correſpondents ſhould declaim ſo ſtrongly againſt monopolies at the very time while they are recommending one of the worſt kind; I mean a monopoly of men of pleaſure and men of buſineſs upon this iſland, againſt the honeſt farmer, who is now obliged to pay yearly thrice as much rent as he did a hundred years ago, yet ſells his wheat at a lower price than it brought about the middle of the laſt century, when the civil wars were ended. At that time, and during all the regency of Oliver Cromwell, the ordinary price of wheat was two guineas and forty-three ſhillings the quarter, without any clamours about want or ſcarcity, although the price of labour was much leſs than it is now. Why then, at this time, eſtabliſh a monopoly againſt the farmer, by laying a perpetual embargo on corn? Why will not theſe gentlemen conſider that the farmer now pays higher wages as well as higher rents? Or are they ignorant that a perpetual embargo on the exportation of corn implies, in its own nature, a monopoly?

One of your correſpondents, unwilling to allow a due merit to the encouragement given to the exportation of corn in the reign of our great deliverer, will have it that the advanced ſtate of agriculture ſince that happy period is owing to the ceſſation of multitudinous migrations to America, and the end now put to thoſe civil wars and fluctuations of government

vernment which formerly affected us. But how doth he prove this poſition? Not from hiſtory or other authority. No, his own affirmation, he ſuppoſes, is the only requiſite proof. But we are too wiſe to be gulled in that manner. We know that ſince the revolution we have often, for a ſeries of years, kept great armies abroad, ſuch as we never ſent to the continent before that happy æra. We alſo know, that from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, down to the revolution, we had no civil wars, except for three years, during the reign of Charles the Firſt. Nor are we ignorant that the migrations to America have encreaſed ſince the revolution. The ſettlements of Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Nova Scotia, have carried off more people from this iſland than all the migrations to America, before the revolution, put together, beſides thoſe occaſioned annually by war and traffic. And there is another cauſe little taken notice of, which muſt have operated ſtrongly againſt agriculture, ſince the revolution, if that employment had not been aſſiſted by the bounty granted at the revolution to the exportation of corn, and that is the great encreaſe of ſailors which the nation has been happily bleſt with ſince that ſignal period.

Every ſailor is a hand loſt to agriculture, who, inſtead of aſſiſting, as formerly, in cultivation, becomes a conſumer of the productions of our farms. The many thouſands of theſe now perpetually at ſea, and living moſtly on meat, encreaſe the price of animal food moſt enormouſly; while they render our corn and vegetables of all ſorts ſomewhat dearer, notwithſtanding that encreaſe of tillage which has been occaſioned by the exportation of corn. But what would have been our caſe under theſe circumſtances, if theſe marſhes and commons had not been ſubjected to the plow, which lay waſte and uncultivated before the revolution? And what ſtimulated

our farmers to this extenſion of agriculture? Let any one aſſign another cauſe if he can. All men of ſenſe will agree with me, that we owe our new corn fields to the foreign corn trade, and to the bounty granted to the exporters of corn.

But, ſay theſe writers, what was a wiſe meaſure at the revolution, is folly now. Our circumſtances are changed. Meat is dearer now than when the exportation of corn was encouraged. The poor cannot now afford to pay the ſame price for their bread as formerly, becauſe they muſt now pay double, or more, for their meat. I will admit it; but is not the price of labour, of every kind, double to what it was at the revolution? I hope they will not, for their own ſakes, deny a fact ſo notorious. Or will they ſay, that the corn which we export is the food with which cattle is fattened? How then could the price of meat be lowered by prohibiting the exportation of thoſe ſorts of corn which are not given to the animals to feed on? At leaſt wheat, which is the main point, is never, as I know of, diſtributed to the lower creation. They are fattened with beans, peaſe, and oats, which are not permitted to be exported. So that till it is explained, we cannot underſtand that the price of meat can be lowered by laying an embargo on the exportation of wheat, barley, or rye.

The price of meat, we know, moſtly depends, and muſt depend upon the value of meadow-grounds, and the price of hay, ſtraw, oats, peaſe and beans. And again, the value of theſe things depends, in a great meaſure, upon the prices that can be had for meat, which muſt encreaſe with the encreaſed conſumption of meat, occaſioned by that prodigious encreaſe of ſhipping which has happened ſince the revolution. Our ſailors are the true cauſe of that riſe in the price of meat, which is complained

plained of. And this hardſhip is greatly enhanced by the baneful arts of foreſtallers. There the root of this evil, and the way to redreſs it, as far as it can be redreſſed by law, is to prohibit all jobbing in fat cattle, butter, poultry, cheeſe, &c. By cauſing all theſe things to come immediately from the farmers to the market, without the intervention of thoſe peſts of ſociety, the engroſſers. This malady may alſo be leſſened by importation from Ireland, where meat is as yet tolerably cheap. And ſome relief may be got by deſtroying all uſeleſs creatures which are not eaten, and aſſiſt us not in agriculture nor in war. All theſe ought to be exported or put to death. Theſe are the natural means of lowering the price of meat, without leſſening our ſtock of corn, or diſcouraging that employment which gives us this corn. And in the mean time I muſt ſay, that dear meat is a more tolerable evil than dear corn: nor can that corn now be eſteemed dear which is ſold below thoſe prices which our anceſtors above an hundred years ago called LOW PRICES, as appears from the preamble of a ſtatute made in the year 1663. What a difference is there between the price of labour now and at that period? It is quite as great as the difference between the price of meat now in our London markets, and the then price of meat. So that upon the whole, we cannot ſay that the induſtrious poor now, are in a worſe condition than they were above a hundred years before Mr. Omega took up the pen in their favour. However, I hope we never ſhall be fooliſh enough to diſtreſs the grower of corn for the ſake of our meat-markets. Corn is the ſtaff of life, and the higheſt conſideration in the article of proviſions.

Beſides this encreaſed price of meats, butter, eggs, &c. is by no means a general evil. It is only particular to great cities, where a vaſt confluence of people find it their intereſt to remain crouded to-

gether, notwithſtanding of theſe diſadvantages. In the country thoſe articles differ not much from what they were twenty years ago: And it is impoſſible to frame any regulation whereby the London markets can be ſerved as cheap with meat, butter, eggs, &c. as the markets in Yorkſhire, where, I am informed, freſh butter may now be had for a groat a pound, or five-pence. Theſe diſadvantages are, in great cities, fully overbalanced by other conveniences and opportunities of gain, which detain the people in that aſſembled condition. And we ſhould be mad if we entered into any reſolutions diſcouraging to farmers for the ſake of perſons who find it their intereſt to remain linked together, notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements attendant on reſidence among ſo great a multitude. Theſe muſt work their way as they can, or diſperſe themſelves where things are cheaper; go to America, or into the country, where the markets are more acceſſible. But we never can expect to be able to give higher wages, or more encouragement to our induſtrious poor by draining the nation of a revenue of two millions a year.

We cannot totally remove the diſtreſs of the poor, for then they would ceaſe to be poor: But if there is not the ſame proportion between their earnings now and the preſent prices of proviſions, equal to that which ſubſiſted between their earnings an hundred years ago, and the then prices of proviſions, it is reaſonable that that error ſhould be rectified by legiſlative authority, after weighing all circumſtances. And I believe, from all appearances in our religious aſſemblies, fairs, and holliday-junketings, that the price of labour would receive no addition by an enquiry of this ſort.

ALPHA.

Reflections upon publiſhing by Subſcription.

PUBLISHING by ſubſcription is univerſally allowed to be genteel begging; and the man of ſenſibility who condeſcends to it, earns every guinea or crown that is ſubſcribed dearer than the man who begs charity from ſtreet to ſtreet with a wooden leg. The wooden leg proclaims that the man has had a real loſs, and pleads in his favour for ſo audacious an attempt as to draw a halfpenny out of the pocket of a miſer, who thinks that a beggar wants nothing but whipping. Poets in general, it muſt be owned, are beggars; they firſt beg for praiſe, and at laſt are reduced to beg an alms or ſtarve, as poor Otway did for want of begging; and, if the poet has no family, perhaps Otway's choice is the more eligible of the two: poets in general are apt to ſay with the unjuſt ſteward, dig I cannot, to beg I am aſhamed; but they forget at the ſame time that they have not ſuch reſources left as he had; for it was never known that a poet had a Lord whom he might cheat in the capacity of ſteward; therefore, if the poet is diſtreſſed, he muſt either ſtarve or beg an alms as a common beggar, or a genteel beggar; that is, he muſt publiſh by ſubſcription; no matter what; it may be a tale of a cock and a bull, or a ſermon, or a play: nor is it much matter whether it be well or ill written; indeed, the worſe it is written, the greater the charity: for every perſon ſubſcribing knows, that he is giving ſo much money to a genteel beggar, for which he no more expects a return, than from a common beggar to whom he gives an alms. Well, then, as the thing ſubſcribed for is a matter of indifference, we will ſuppoſe it to be the poet's firſt play, and that too refuſed to be exhibited upon the ſtage, and therefore incapable of being damned; and as the poet is ſuppoſed to be diſtreſſed, it muſt be a tragedy, perhaps Leonidas, or ſome ſuch old

faſhioned trumpery ſubject, where the words liberty, patriot, and oh, my country! are blended together every other page, as if they were a ſtanding receipt, with a few battles, and a miſerable love ſcene to make a tragedy.

Well, but the tragedy is made, and very wiſely refuſed by the manager to be brought upon the ſtage, as having nothing in it but what every cobler in England knew before; for every cobler knew the meaning of the words liberty and patriot. The wretched poet, who hoped at leaſt to have had one benefit night, complains of the manager for his refuſal to bring it on the ſtage: the manager ſilences him by a preſent of 100l. and his other friends advice him to publiſh by ſubſcription.

Now, there wants nothing but a patron to countenance the ſubſcription (though not the work, for it is ten to one that he ever reads it.) However, a patron there muſt be; and, of courſe, a dedication. Well! after half a dozen attendances, (at the expence of ſo many clear ſhirts) the poet has the good luck to meet with his patron at home, who not only gives him leave to dedicate the play to him, but likewiſe gives him a preſent of ten guineas for the dedication; for the poet cannot afford to truſt for the preſent, although the patron would gladly truſt for the dedication until dooms-day.

And now behold our poet comes from his patron with an heart glowing with gratitude, and, in imagination, graſping an ideal fortune from the ſubſcription, and beſpeaks an elegant dinner and bottle of claret. Whether this love of elegance and wine proceeds from his early reading of Anacreon and Horace, or from a deſire of knowing what an elegant dinner is, may be difficult to determine; probably the latter: for it is bad policy for any patron to invite a poet to dinner; becauſe the ſooner he is ſtarved for want of one, the more

certain

certain the patron is, that he will never come for a ſecond ſubſcription.

And now, the poet having gratified his palate or curioſity, and perhaps both, with an elegant dinner, bethinks himſelf (if poets ever do think) that the taylor, who truſted him with cloaths to viſit his patron, and ſome other tradeſmen who deal in what is called neceſſaries, muſt be paid, or that he ſhall never be able to get credit a ſecond time on the like occaſion; he, therefore, very honeſtly, as well as wiſely, applies the money he has left unſpent in laying a foundation for a future credit, or, in other words, in making friends of the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs. But the ſubſcription all the while is not one jot advanced; for it is beneath the dignity of a poet to aſk a ſubſcription of any man upon earth, while he has money in his pocket to diſcharge a tavern reckoning.

Well, at laſt his finances being exhauſted, he ſeriouſly bethinks himſelf of his laſt reſource, the ſubſcription, and wants only half a dozen of great perſonages to grace the liſt and ſet the ſubſcription on float, for he well knows that it will then ſwim of itſelf. But it may not poſſibly be ſo eaſy a matter to get real names; why then he may, for the preſent, inſert fictitious ones, for a poet's talent is invention; and no ſubſcriber will give himſelf the trouble to enquire after the reality of the liſt, unleſs it be ſome republican Whig or bigotted Tory, who, when ſollicited for a crown for a performance not intrinſically worth ſixpence, calls out for the liſt, and cries, p'ſhaw, rot your ſubſcription, I don't like your liſt, however there's a crown to buy you a dinner.

Diſconcerted at this treatment, and abaſhed at being ſo roughly told that he was a beggar, the poet returns home full of wonder, that a man (who had never voted at an election in his life, and who

had ſcarce a place of ſettlement, unleſs it was Parnaſſus) ſhould be ſubjected to ſtarve, becauſe his patron and the liſt of ſubſcribers given in by him happened to be diſagreeable to his party friend.

Upon this he ſinks his liſt (whether a Whig or Tory one is not material) as poets are rarely, if ever, poſſeſſed of property enough to entitle them to vote in the choice of a member of parliament; but ſtill goes on with the ſubſcription, agreeable to the ſpirited motto of *nunquam tentes aut perfice*, and ſolicits his acquaintance for ſubſcriptions in perſon; for going in perſon, if you can get admittance, (which it is ten to one you do not, if you patron gueſſes your errand) is the true and only way of aſking a favour of any kind. It being a well known and much to be lamented truth, that an acquaintance who is rich and capable of aſſiſting you, will not be aſhamed to refuſe you that favour by letter which he would bluſh to refuſe you when face to face.

One of the poets friends, although he ſubmitted to the terms of paying his five ſhillings down (which is of the very eſſence of a ſubſcription, as the perſon ſubſcribed to is known to want the money, and the perſon ſubſcribing does not value the thing ſubſcribed for of a bulruſh) nay very rarely chuſes (if the money is not all paid down) to make good the ſecond payment, yet expreſſed ſome aſtoniſhment at the largeneſs of the price; for he was pleaſed to ſay gravely, that if the tragedy had been performed upon the ſtage, and ever ſo ſucceſsful, it would, when printed, have ſold for no more than 18d.

The poet, ſtruck with conviction of the truth of the obſervation, made no reply to his benefactor, but thankfully pocketed the five ſhillings for one printed copy of a tragedy, which had never been performed at either theatre.

Another

Another friend of the poet ſubſcribed one guinea inſtead of five ſhillings, to the no ſmall ſurprize of the poet, who knew that his friend loved money, but forgot that he was fond of fame; and that he the poet had advertiſed that a liſt of the ſubſcribers, and ſums ſubſcribed, would be publiſhed, (which, as it flatters the pride, is at the ſame time, a prodigious ſpur to the generoſity of the ſubſcriber) becauſe the poet has at all times the power of conferring the title of an Eſquire inſtead of gentleman or plain maſter; the poet, therefore, out of gratitude, intends to dignify this friend with the title of an Eſquire, although he is only a plain maſter; and as there is more intrinſic difference in value between a guinea and a crown, than there is in rank between an Eſquire, and a gentleman, he intends likewiſe to dignify every ſubſcriber of one guinea with the former title, that he may not incur the imputation of partiality; and he flatters himſelf that a ſubſcriber of five ſhillings only will be contented with the addition of gentleman or plain maſter, unleſs he be in ſtrictneſs intitled to the rank of an Eſquire.

Another ſubſcriber of one guinea meeting with the poet, in a large circle of his acquaintance, called him aſide, and took the liberty of telling him as a friend, that publiſhing by ſubſcription was genteel begging; to which the poet, with a due ſenſe of the great diſtance there is between the ſubſcriber and ſubſcribed, being vaſtly greater than that between the borrower and the lender, with great humility, anſwered, that he knew it but too well, and was by diſtreſs obliged to beg as genteelly as begging will admit of.

The friend above, not contented with inflicting this mortification upon him, but in order to deter him from future attempts of this kind, was pleaſed to add, your acquaintance may do this for you for

once,

once, but I aſſure you that you muſt not think of repeating it, for it will not do again.

The poet coldly anſwered, that he knew it could not be repeated, and ſoon afterwards made intereſt to a particular friend, and borrowed a guinea, and ſo got rid of this weighty obligation.

Theſe are ſome of the many mortifications to which perſons of literature and ſenſibility are liable, when forced by diſtreſs to publiſh by ſubſcription and brings it to a moot point, whether it is not better to ſtarve with Otway in ſilence, than to live upon the precarious bounty of a ſubſcriber.

A GENTEEL BEGGAR.

Conſiderations upon the tempers of the people of Ireland and England.

IRELAND now complains of multitudes of Papiſts, and Parliaments that never have an end but with the life of the Prince who calls them. It is, however, true, that Ireland breeds and nurſes the calamities ſhe complains of. She refuſes an union with Britain, and by that refuſal denies to herſelf that aid againſt Papiſts, which ſhe ſo much wants, and thoſe improvements in her conſtitution, which ours has attained to. Would the Iriſh look at the Scots, they would ſee in them the extenſive benefits of an incorporating union with England. Would they take only a curſory view of Scotland, they would ſee in that country the infinite advantages attendant on union with ſo important a kingdom as that of Britain. Would Dublin caſt her eyes on Edinburgh, ſhe would be ſenſible how ill-grounded her fears are of devaſtation from a ceſſation of her parliament. What was Scotland in the year 1707? What was Edinburgh then? What is Scotland now? and in what an improved ſtate are all her cities, towns and villages?

Will

Will not Ireland be convinced by rational arguments? Will ſhe not yield to the conviction ariſing from indiſputable facts? I fear ſhe will not. If ſhe would advert to truth with the ſmalleſt degree of attention, ſhe would not ſo obſtinately refuſe the beſt preſent that can be offered to her acceptance. She cries out moſt irrationally, that Britiſh taxes and the national debt terrify her from an union with a kingdom ſo much hampered with large annual burdens. Has ſhe not as yet learnt, that taxes paid to an internal government are no loſs to the kingdom? Theſe taxes cauſe a circulation of caſh, but drain us not of our money. Would not this reaſoning hold good with Iriſh taxes, if Ireland was united with Britain? Moſt certainly it would: for, in that caſe, the taxes gathered in Ireland would, with ours, circulate all over the united kingdom, and flow back to the moſt diſtant county of Ireland, in the ſame manner as the blood from the heart repleniſhes the moſt diſtant arteries in all animal bodies. In like manner our national debt, ſo far as it is due to ſubjects can neither impoveriſh nor diſtreſs the kingdom.

But, has Ireland ever taken a comparative view of our debts and our opulence? If ſhe had acted ſo prudent a part, our national debt would not appear ſuch a bugbear in her eyes: ſhe would have underſtood, that our national debt, was it all due to foreigners, is a mere trifle to the great opulence out of which it is to be paid.

Our land tax, at the rate of four ſhillings in the pound, is not in fact a tax to the extent of eighteen-pence in the pound, yet it produces to our Treaſury two millions by the year. From hence we learn the groſs amount of all the rents in England, and are with pleaſure aſcertained, that the ſoil of our country produces to its owners the ſmall ſum of twenty five millions by the year: and ſince it is agreed on all hands, that the rent is but

the

the third part of the fruits of the ground, the land of England annually gives us out of its bowels ſeventy-five millions of money at leaſt; and this is ſtill an encreaſing fund. Is this large ſum all we have, by the year, from the labours of our poor? Nothing is leſs true. Our manufacturers and ſailors produce us, from their toils, another harveſt; ſo far as theſe are employed in fiſhing and working for foreign conſumption, their labours are an additional revenue to the nation. We have, I believe, a million of hands at ſea, whoſe wages at an average amount to thirty ſhillings by the month, including commanders and other officers. And ſince it is by nobody denied, that we gain on the whole as much as we loſe by foreign commerce, including all our expences on the ocean, it is evident that theſe wages are paid by other nations, and afford to this kingdom an additional article of ſupport, amounting to eighteen millions by the year. For the ſame reaſon, I might alſo compute as a part of our annual eſtate, the wages of warehouſemen, clerks, and others, employed at our keys, and in the carriage and care of foreign commodities; but I ſhall overlook that part of our income, and proceed to conſider the annual gains ariſing from our manufactures for home and foreign ſervice, which, for many reaſons, may be ſet down to be worth as much as the rents, of our lands. Thus the working part of our people bring us in yearly, by the cultivation of our lands, manufactures, fiſhing, and ſailing, one hundred and ſixteen millions by the year; and if we add to this our mercantile gains, we have then the whole of our yearly revenue, or all that is applicable to our yearly ſupport as a nation, or an independant kingdom. We have, however, alſo all the valuable commodities in the kingdom, over and above what our merchants owe to foreigners; that is, all the jewels, gold and ſilver, coined and uncoined, ſhips and

apparel;

apparel; and, in fine, all the pelf and cattle actually in the nation, of which no man can, with any propriety, pretend to make an eſtimate.

Now, you ſee the extenſive fund out of which we muſt pay our national debt: let us ſuppoſe that one man was poſſeſſed of all this riches, with eight million of heads and hands employed for ever in his ſervice, and owed one hundred and thirty millions of debts only, at an intereſt of three and a half and four per cent. would we call this man RICH or POOR? Would any man have reaſon to apprehend any misfortune, from entering into a partnerſhip in trade with a man poſſeſſed of ſo great an eſtate, although his debts amounted to one hundred and thirty millions of money? I cannot reckon him a man of ſenſe, who would ſuffer ſo chimerical a fear to harbour in his boſom.

But, the debt we owe to our own ſubjects cannot hurt us as a nation: when we pay the intereſt we are never the poorer, nor will the nation be either the richer or the poorer when the national creditor, who is our ſubject, receives his whole debt: and as to foreigners, we pay them indeed to our own loſs: but as the ſum due to foreigners amounts to two-fifths only of one hundred and thirty millions, it is only a burden, or a ſmall part of our national eſtate: and, if we may believe ſome of our ſtate empirics, we gain by our foreign debts: for, ſay they, if the foreigner gets intereſt for his money, we have his money; and that money circulating in a commercial kingdom, is to be eſteemed as ſo much laid out in trade, and conſequently, as yielding to us ten or twelve *per cent.* while we only pay for it to our foreign creditor four *per cent.* However, my argument requires no ſuch ſubterfuge: our nation, notwithſtanding that ſmall quantity of foreign debt, is the richeſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe, has the greateſt reſources

ſources for itſelf, and the beſt proviſions for its ſubjects. The Spaniſh trade yields us more gains than are ſufficient to pay the intereſt of our foreign debt: and of conſequence, all our plantation and other foreign trade is annually encreaſing our general capital in trade, or otherwiſe enriching a kingdom already incredibly opulent.

It is indeed true, that whenever a new tax is laid on, an univerſal murmur is bandied through the kingdom: but theſe murmurs ariſe not from poverty, as in France: they are conſequent of the temper of the people, always jealous of their liberties. They minded not the additional tax upon the cyder; it was the mode of levying that tax which gave them pain. The encreaſing tax on wheel carriages is a proof what little regard they have for their pockets, in caſe you will keep exciſe officers out of their houſes.

This is their humour, and government muſt muſt give way to it, or ſit on thorns. But, otherwiſe, it muſt be acknowledged that the Engliſh people are opulent, and free enough of their money, when they are not ill uſed. Nor is there any reaſon to ſuppoſe that the national debts, great as they are, will ever diſtreſs a country whoſe funds are ſo immeaſurably great, and whoſe genius is ſo enterprizing.

HIBERNICUS.

Propoſal for an OFFICE *of* INSPECTION.

EVERY propoſal relative to commerce highly merits the attention of the public; and, I have obſerved a plan of the greateſt importance to the real intereſts and true honour of this mercantile kingdom; I mean that ſo modeſtly propoſed to the public for eſtabliſhing an Office of Inſpection, under the management of Commiſſioners of known probity, where all our manufactures, intended for exportation, ſhould be carefully examined and marked

marked with ſtamps, ſignifying their true value. The great utility of ſuch an office is ſo extremely evident, that I am not a little ſurprized that an office of this ſort is as yet to be erected in ſuch a nation as this, ſo deeply concerned in trade, whoſe very exiſtence depends on the equitable dealings of our manufacturers, and their upright reſolutions in ſupporting, in a proper manner, that fair character ſo eſſential to the preſervation and improvement of every branch of trade. And, in juſtice to the author of the plan of this office, I muſt acknowledge, that all his thoughts, on that ſubject, appear ſo natural and ſo forcibly recommended, that it is really aſtoniſhing that ſuch important ideas have hitherto eſcaped our obſervation.

We all know that honeſty is the beſt policy, and that there is no probability, under any combination of circumſtances, that any man ſhall retain the benefits ariſing from any lucrative buſineſs or emplopment without a fair, open, candid and diſcreet conduct towards all connected and concerned with him in that matter; and yet, notwithſtanding the general aſſent to this uncontrovertible truth, it is too true, to the great reproach of our nature, that the generality of mankind appear quite inſenſible of ſo ſelf-evident a propoſition, and order their actions as if the only road to proſperity lay in the practice of the moſt notorious deceits: I mean not to charge this nation in particular with ſo grievous an accuſation; for ſuch in fact, is the univerſal corruption of mankind, that in all great multitudes, all the world over, there are nineteen out of twenty of this narrow, ſelfiſh and ill-judging turn of mind, that they try to thrive by guile inſomuch, that in all countries, wherever a great plurality of perſons of different intereſts are concerned in any affair whatever, there is no poſſibility of baniſhing

knaviſh tricks from their intentions, except by ſubjecting their operations to the inſpection and controul of the few candid, virtuous and wiſe with whom the world is ſtill bleſſed.—So prevalent is that biaſs towards injuſtice, ſo conſpicuous in the greateſt part of the human race.

Nor is there any propoſition concerning trade more obvious or leſs exceptionable than this, that the ſuperior qualities of any peace of workmanſhip only can entitle it to a ſuperior price; and it is too melancholy a truth, that the preſent dearneſs of proviſions in England renders it impoſſible for our people to labour at the ſame rates. The prices of their work muſt, therefore, be proportionably higher. From which conſiderations it follows, as a corollary or ſpontaneous concluſion, that our manufactures will not find purchaſers abroad, unleſs they excell thoſe of other nations; and the gradual loſs of all our export trade muſt ſoon overtake us, if our goods appear not preferable to foreign productions in beauty, laſt and uſefulneſs. Nor is it poſſible to contrive any method more effectual than that propoſed by your correſpondent in his plan of the 10th ult. in order to keep up that preference, at this time ſo viſible in the labours of our artizans, and baniſh from the hearts of the unjuſt all hopes of drawing a preſent deſpicable gain from ſuch practices as muſt, in the end, terminate in the ruin of our national character. Till another ſcheme is propoſed equally well calculated for promoting every laudable purpoſe reaſonably to be expected from his plan, and for advancing all our manufactures to the higheſt degree of perfection, I muſt recommend, with all my power, the immediate execution of ſo ſalutary a deſign. The ſmall expence which muſt be attendant on carrying it into practice will never, I hope, be any objection againſt its reception in the

eye

eye of a man of ſenſe, as that trifling expence will be a full ſecurity againſt thoſe impoſitions with which we are at preſent too juſtly charged by foreigners.

In the preſent ſtate of our manufactures, when our goods are exported, the merchant who receives them muſt examine every piece of work before he expoſes his acquiſitions to ſale, that he may form a judgment of their real worth, and ſeparate the clean from the unclean. But if your correſpondent's plan is embraced, this portion of the precious time of our foreign cuſtomers will be entirely ſaved; and this ſaving will prevent his murmuring at the paultry expence of inſpection on this ſide of the water. For every merchant, factor and retailer will then be certain, without any particular ſurvey of his goods, that he may ſafely, on all occaſions, recommend his property, as being perfectly anſwerable to expectation. We cannot, therefore, with any ſhew of reaſon, ſuppoſe, that charging this expence as an additional article in our envoices will be in the leaſt diſpleaſing to foreigners, when they conſider that that ſmall payment ſaves ſo much of their valuable time and ſecures them againſt deceit, even though they ſhould be ignorant of the real value of the commodity they purchaſe.

By carrying this laudable ſcheme into execution, many benefits will accrue to this kingdom too numerous to be here recapitulated. Among theſe, however, I beg leave to mention one of the greateſt conſequence to this nation; which is, that we ſhall thereby arrive at a greater certainty than formerly in the knowledge of the true ſtate of our ballances with foreigners, which always will be, in vain, expected from our Cuſtom-houſe books in the preſent ſtate of trade, as is well known to every perſon in theleaſt converſant in commerce. At leaſt, we ſhall exactly know the whole value of our exports,

and

and from thence be able to form a more certain judgement than has been hitherto made of the extent of the great fund of which we are in poſſeſſion for ſupporting ourſelves within this iſland, and making foreign purchaſes. Nay, by a few wholeſome regulations in this office, we may be enabled diſtinctly to underſtand to what country we are moſt obliged for the conſumption of our manufactures, and conſequently obtain a full and complete view of our intereſts in trade with each particular ſtate.

The only real objection that can ſtand in the way of the execution of this patriotic propoſal, ariſes from the difficulty of finding perſons of unblemiſhed honeſty among thoſe of knowledge, who will act a fair and impartial part between our artizans and foreigners; and if the nomination of the officers concerned in this important affair is permitted to fall into miniſterial hands, it is much to be feared that partial favour will exclude that merit on which the whole ſucceſs of this undertaking depends. If the appointments to offices in this great department of buſineſs are ſuffered to lie at the mercy of venal miniſters, the cure will be worſe than the diſeaſe; and that corruption, often ſo rampant in the courts of princes, will taint the very marrow of trade, and tranſmit rottenneſs through the whole body of our commerce. In that caſe, this arrangement, in appearance of ſo great utility for proſcribing INIQUITY, will ſtifle JUSTICE, and entirely depreſs our national character for honeſty, already too low abroad. But if the election of commiſſioners, in this intereſting concern, is placed in proper hands, as in thoſe of the principal merchants of London, Briſtol and Liverpool, we may then reaſonably expect the completion of our wiſhes in this important national concern.

AN OBSERVER.

ISABELLA: Or, The MORNING.

Written by the late Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

The ARGUMENT.

THE D— of M—— is repreſented as riſing from breakfaſt with her parrot, monkey, and lap-dog.—Dicky D—man comes in with a Staffordſhire *tea-pot*, with which the D—ſs is chamed: —a ſimile—She makes a fine ſpeech upon the occaſion, which is broken off by General C. Ch—li's coming in.—His character.—His firſt ſpeech.—The D——eſs ſhews him the *tea-pot*.—She tells him of fire-works to be ſold at Marguſs's, which give him an opportunity of telling a ſtory of ſome he ſaw in Flanders. It appears from the very beginning of the ſtory that it could have no end.—It is broken off by the entrance of Charles St——pe.—A ſimile on his coming in. His character as a companion.—He gives an account of a *Polypus*. The D——ſs longs for a *Polypus*. Both the Charles's fall faſt aſleep, on each ſide of the D—ſs. Contraſt between Suſanna and the two elders.—The whole company rouſed by Lord L——l's coming into the room.—His character.—He talks of the opera, of Ch——ld and Fanny*.—Lady Fanny's looks awing to love.—The General begins the ſtory of Miſs How.—The company's diſmay deſcribed at the General's beginning a ſtory.—The clock ſtrikes three.—The D——ſs rings to dreſs.—The company riſes.—The departure of the company deſcribed.

* *Lady F. Sk------y.*

ISABELLA: Or, The MORNING.

In various talk the inſtructive hours they paſt. Milton.

THE Monkey, Lap-dog, Parrot, and her Grace,
Had each retir'd from breakfaſt to their place,
When, hark, a knock! "See Betty, ſee, who's there:"
"'Tis Mr. B—n, Ma'am, in his new chair:"
"Dicky's new chair! the charming'ſt thing in "town,
"Whoſes poles are lacker'd, and whoſe lining's "brown!"
But ſee; he enters with his ſhuff'ling gate;
"Lord, ſays her Grace, how could you be ſo late?"
"I'm ſorry, Madam, I have made you wait,"
Bateman reply'd, "I only ſtaid to bring
"The neweſt, charming'ſt, moſt delightful thing!"
"Oh! tell me, what's the curioſity!
"Oh! ſhew it me this inſtant, or I die!"
To pleaſe the noble dame, the courtly 'Squire
Produc'd a *tea-pot* made in Staffordſhire:
With eager eyes the longing D——ſs ſtood,
And o'er and o'er the ſhining bauble view'd:
Such were the joys touched young Atrides' breaſt,
Such all the Grecian hoſt at once expreſt;
When, from beneath his robe—to all their view,
Laertes' ſon, the famed Palladium drew.
So Venus look'd, and with ſuch longing eyes,
When Paris firſt produc'd the golden prize.
"Such work as this, ſhe cries, can England do?
It equals Dreſden, and excells St. Cloud:
All modern China now ſhall hide its head,
And ev'n Chantilly muſt give o'er the trade:
For lace let Flanders bear away the bell,
In fineſt linen let the Dutch excell;
For prettieſt ſtuffs let Ireland firſt be nam'd,
And for beſt fancy'd ſilks let France be fam'd;

Do thou, thrice happy England! ſtill prepare
This clay, and build thy fame on earthen-ware."
Much ſhe'd have ſaid, but that again ſhe heard
The knocker—and the General appear'd.
The Gen'ral! one of thoſe brave old commanders,
Who ſerved through all the glorious wars in Flanders;
Frank and good-natur'd, of an honeſt heart,
Loving to act the ſteady friendly part:
None led through youth a gayer life than he,
Chearful in converſe, ſmart in repartee.
Sweet was his night, and joyful was his day,
He din'd with Walpole, and with Oldfield lay;
But with old age its vices came along,
And in narration he's extremely long;
Exact in circumſtance, and nice in dates,
He each minute particular relates.
If you name one of Malbro's ten campaigns,
He tells you its whole hiſtory for your pains;
And Blenheim's field becomes by his reciting,
As long in telling as it was in fighting:
His old deſire to pleaſe is ſtill expreſs'd;
His hat's well cock'd, his perriwig's well dreſs'd:
He rolls his ſtockings ſtill, white gloves he wears,
And in the boxes with the beuax appears:
His eyes thro' wrinkled corners caſt their rays;
Sill he looks chearful, ſtill ſoft things he ſays:
And ſtill rememb'ring that he once was young,
He ſtrains his crippled knees, and ſtruts along.
The room he enter'd *ſmiling*; which beſpoke
Some worn-out compliment, or thread-bare joke.
(For not perceiving loſs of parts, he yet
Graſps at the ſhade of his departed wit.)
" How does your Grace? I hope I ſee you well:
What a prodigious deal of rain has fell!
Will the ſun never let us ſee his face?
But who can want a ſun that ſees your Grace?"

I'm your ſervant, Sir—but ſee what I have got!
Is't it a prodigious, charming *pot?*
And a'n't you vaſtly glad we make them here,
For Dicky got it out of Staffordſhire.
See how the charming vine twines all about!
Lord! what a handle! Jeſus! what a ſpout!
And that old Pagog, and that charming child!
If Lady T—nd ſaw them, ſhe'd be wild!"
To this the Gen'ral anſwer'd, "Who would not?
Lord! where cou'd Mr. Bateman find this *pot?*
Dear Dicky, cou'dn't you get one for me?
I want ſome uſeful china mightily;
Two jars, two beakers, and a *pot pourrie.*
"Oh, Mr. Churchill, where d'ye think I've been?
At Margus's, and there ſuch Fire-Works ſeen,
So very pretty, charming, odd and new;
And, I aſſure you, they're right India too!
I've bought them all, there's not one left in town;
And, if you was to ſee them, you wou'd own
You never ſaw ſuch fire-works any where."
—Oh, madam, I muſt beg your pardon there,
The Gen'ral cry'd, "for 'twas in the year Ten;
No, let me recollect, it was not then;
'Twas then year *Eight*, I think, for then we lay
Encamp'd with all the army near Cambray—
Yes, yes, I'm ſure I'm right by one event,
We ſupp'd together in Cadogan's tent;
Meredith, Lamly, Palmer, and poor Geo. Grove,
And merrily the bumpers round we drove;
To Marlbro's health we drank confounded hard;
For he'd juſt beat the French at Oudenard:
And Lord Cadogan then had got by chance,
The beſt champaign that ever came from France.
And 'twas no wonder that it was ſo good,
For ſome dragoons had ſeiz'd it on the road;
And they were told from thoſe they took it from,
It was deſign'd a preſent for Vendoſme.
So we—But ſee another Charles's face
Cut ſhort the Gen'ral, and relieves her Grace.

So,

So, when one crop-ſick parſon, in a doſe,
Is reading morning ſervice through his noſe,
Another in the pulpit ſtrait appears,
Claiming the tir'd-out congregations ears,
And with a duller ſermon ends their pray'rs.
For this old Charles is full as dull as t'other,
Bavius to Mœvius was not more a brother;
From two defects this talk no joy affords,
From want of matter, and from want of words.
" I hope, ſays he, your Grace is well to-day,
And caught no cold by vent'ring to the play."
" Oh, Sir, I'm mighty well—won't you ſit down?
Pray, Mr. S—, what's the news in town?"
" Madam, I know of none; but I'm juſt come
From ſeeing a curioſity at home:
'Twas ſent to Martin Folkes, as being rare,
And he and Deſaguliers brought it there:
It's call'd a *Polypus*."—" What's that?"—" A creature,
The wonderful'ſt of all the works of nature:
Hither it came from Holland, where 'twas caught,
(I ſhould not ſay it came, for it was brought)
To-morrow we're to have it at Crane-court,
And 'tis a reptile of ſo ſtrange a ſort,
That if 'tis cut in two, it is not dead;
Its head ſhoots out a tail, its tail a head;
Take out its middle, and obſerve its ends,
Here a head riſes, there a tail deſcends;
Or cut off any part that you deſire,
That part extends and makes itſelf entire:
But what it feeds on ſtill remains a doubt,
Or how it generates, is not found out;
But at our board, tomorrow, 'twill appear,
And then 'twill be conſider'd and made clear,
For all the learned body will be there."
" Lord! I muſt ſee it, or I am undone,
The D—s cry'd, pray can't you get me one?

I never hear'd of ſuch a thing before,
I long to cut it and make fifty more;
I'd have a cage made up in taſte for mine,
And, Dicky—you ſhall give me a deſign."
But hear the General to a yawn gave way,
And St——pe had not one more word to ſay,
So ſtretch'd on eaſy chairs in apathy they lay;
And on each ſide the goddeſs they ador'd,
One Charles ſat ſpeechleſs, and the other ſnor'd.
When chaſte Suſanna's all-ſubduing charms
Made two old lovers languiſh for her arms,
Soon as her eyes had thaw'd the froſt of age,
Their paſſions mounted into luſtful rage;
With brutal violence they attack'd their prey,
And almoſt bore the wiſh'd-for prize away.
Hail, happy D—s! 'twixt two elders plac'd,
Whoſe paſſions brutal luſt has ne'er diſgrac'd;
No warm expreſſions make your bluſhes riſe,
No raviſh'd kiſs ſhoots light'ning from your eyes:
Let them but viſit you, they aſk no more,
Guiltleſs they'll gaze, and innocent adore.
But hark! a louder knock than all before,
" Lord! ſays her Grace, they'll thunder down my door!"
Into the room ſee ſweating L—l break,
(The D—s riſes, and the elders wake):
L—l,—the oddeſt character in town;
A lover, ſtateſman, connoiſſeur, buffoon:
Extract him well, this is his quinteſſence,
Much folly, but more cunning, and ſome ſenſe;
To neither party in his heart inclin'd,
He ſteer'd through both, with politics refin'd;
Voted with Walpole, and with Pultney din'd.
His Lordſhip makes a bow, and takes his ſeat,
Then opens with preliminary chat;
" I'm glad to ſee your Grace—the Gen'ral too—
" Old Charles, how is it? Dicky! how d'ye do?
" Madam, I hear that you was at the play,
" You did not ſay one word on't yeſterday;
" I went,

" I went, who'd no engagement, any ſhare,
" To th' opera."—" Were there many people
there?"
The Dutcheſs cry'd:—" Yes, madam, a great many,
Says Lovel"—" There was Ch——d and Fanny.
In that eternal whiſper, which begun
Ten years ago, and never will be done;
For tho' you know he ſees her ev'ry day,
Still he has ever ſomething new to ſay;
There's nothing upon earth ſo hard to me,
As keeping up diſcourſe eternally;
He never lets the converſation fall,
And I'm ſure Fanny can't keep up the ball;
I ſaw that her replies were never long,
And with her eyes, ſhe anſwered for her tongue.
Poor I! am forc'd to keep my diſtance now,
She won't ev'n curt'ſy if I make a bow."
" Why, things are ſtrangely chang'd, the Gen'ral
cry'd;
Ay, *fortune de la guerre*," my Lord reply'd:
" But you and I, Charles, hardly find things ſo,
As we both did ſome twenty years ago."
" And take off twenty years, reply'd her Grace,
'Twould do no harm to Lady Fanny's face;
My Lord, you never ſee her but at night,
By th' advantageous help of candle-light:
Dreſt out with every aid that is adorning,
Oh, if your Lordſhip ſaw her in a morning!
It is no more than Fanny once ſo fair;
No roſes bloom, no lillies flouriſh there:
But hollow eyes, and pale and faded cheek,
Repentance, love and diſappointment ſpeak."
The General found a lucky minute now
To ſpeak—" Ah, ma'am, you did not know Miſs
How.
I'll tell you all her hiſtory, he cry'd—
At this Charles S——e gap'd extreamly wide;
Poor Dicky ſat on thorns; her Grace turn'd pale,

And L——l trembled at th' impending tale.
" Poor girl! faith ſhe was once extreamly fair,
Till worn by love, and tortur'd by deſpair:
Her pining cheek betray'd her inward ſmart;
Her breaking looks foretold her breaking heart.
At Leiceſter-houſe her paſſion firſt began
And Nanty L————er was a pretty man;
But when the P——eſs did to K—w remove,
She could not bear the abſence of her love;
Away ſhe flew."—But here the clock ſtruck three;
So did ſome pitying deity decree;
The D——ſs rings to dreſs—and ſee her maid
With all the aparatus for her head,
Th' adorning circle can no longer ſtay,
Each riſes, bows, and goes his different way.
To antient Boothby's antient C——ill's flown;
Home to his dinner S——pe goes alone:
Dicky to faſt with her, her Grace invites,
And L——l's coachman drives unbid to White's.

Price of Wheat at Bear-Key.

Years.		*Loweſt.*		*Higheſt.*	
1731	from	20 *s.*	to	32 *s.*	per quarter.
1732	——	19	—	27	——
1733	——	20	—	31	——
1734	——	22	—	34	——
1735	——	26	—	40	——
1736	——	19	—	36	——
1737	——	26	—	34	——
1738	——	26	—	32	——
1739	——	27	—	27	——
1740	——	27	—	54	——
1741	——	26	—	48	——
1742	——	20	—	29	——
1743	——	18	—	23	——
1744	——	17	—	23	——
1745	——	16	—	27	——
1746	——	16	—	32	——

Price

Price of Wheat at Bear-Key.

Years.	*Loweſt.*	*Higheſt.*	
1747	26 *s.*	32 *s.*	per quarter.
1748	26	35	
1749	25	32	
1750	24	32	
1751	24	35	
1752	30	34	
1753	22	39	
1754	22	33	
1755	20	28	
1756	22	40	
1757	44	63	
1758	26	50	
1759	23	30	
1760	23	30	
1761	20	30	
1762	20	35	
1763	29	35	
1764	30	35	

[*Upon Mr. Pitt's acceptance of a place, and a peerage in July* 1766, *the public papers teemed with ſevere reflections on his conduct: From them we have ſelected the following, which perhaps are ſufficient to ſhew the vein and tendency of the whole.*]

A worthy friend of mine, among ſome other manuſcripts of the late Earl of Orford, has found the following copy of a letter to his late M——, and has been ſo kind as to permit me to tranſcribe it to ſend to your paper, in which I doubt not but it will be pleaſing to many of your readers. G. O.

SIR, *Wedneſday noon.*

THE violence of the fit of the ſtone, which has tormented me for ſome days, is now ſo far abated, that although it will not permit me to have

have the honour of waiting on your Majeſty, is yet kind enough to enable me ſo far to obey your orders, as to write my ſentiments concerning that troubleſome man Mr. Pulteney; and to point out (what I conceive to be) the moſt effectual method to make him perfectly quiet.

Your Majeſty well knows how, by the dint of his eloquence, he has ſo captivated the mob, and attained an unbounded popularity, that the moſt manifeſt wrong appears right, when adopted and urged by him. Hence it is, that he is become not only troubleſome, but even dangerous. The unthinking multitude believe he has no one object but the public good, although, if they would reflect a little, they would ſoon perceive, that ſpleen againſt thoſe your Majeſty has honoured with your confidence has greater weight with him than real patriotiſm; ſince, let any meaſure be propoſed, however ſalutary, if he thinks it comes from me, it is ſufficient for him to oppoſe it. Thus, Sir, you ſee that affairs of the moſt momentous concern are ſubject to the caprice of that popular man, and he has nothing to do but to declare it a miniſterial project, and bellow out the word *favourite*, to have an hundred pens drawn againſt it, and a thouſand mouths open to contradict it. Under theſe circumſtances he bears up againſt the miniſtry, (and let me add againſt your Majeſty yourſelf) and every uſeful ſcheme muſt be either abandoned, or, if it is carried in either houſe, the public is made to believe it is done by a corrupt majority.

Since then things are thus circumſtanced, it is become abſolutely neceſſary for the public tranquillity that he ſhould be made quiet, and the only method to do that effectually, is to deſtroy his popularity, and ruin the good belief the people have in him. In order to do this he muſt be invited to court; your Majeſty muſt condeſcend to ſpeak to

him

him in the moſt favourable and diſtinguiſhing manner; you muſt make him believe that he is the only perſon upon whoſe opinion you can rely, and to whom your people look up for uſeful meaſures. As he has already ſeveral times refuſed to take the lead in the adminiſtration, unleſs it was totally modelled to his fancy, your Majeſty ſhould cloſe in with his advice, and give him leave to arrange the adminiſtration as he pleaſes, and put whom he chuſes in office (there can be no danger in that, as you can diſmiſs him then when you think fit.) When he is got thus far, (to which his extreme ſelf love, and the high opinion he entertains of his own importance will eaſily conduce,) it will be neceſſary that your Majeſty ſhould ſeem to have a great regard for his health; ſignify to him that your affairs will be ruined if he ſhould die; that you want to have him conſtantly near you, to have his ſage advice; and that, therefore, as he is much diſordered in body, and ſomething infirm, it will be neceſſary for his preſervation, for him to quit the Houſe of Commons (where malevolent tempers will be continually fretting him, and where indeed his preſence will be needleſs, as no ſtep will be taken but according to his advice) and that he will let you give him a diſtinguiſhing mark of your approbation, by creating him a peer. This he may be brought to; for, if I know any thing of mankind, he has a love for honours and money, and notwithſtanding his great haughtineſs, and ſeeming contempt of honour, he may be won, if it is done with dexterity; for, as the poet Fenton ſaid,

Flattery's an oil, ſoftens the toughest fool.

If your Majeſty can once bring him to accept of a *coronet*, all will be over with him; the changing multitude will ceaſe to have any confidence in him; and when you ſee that, your Majeſty may turn your back on him, diſmiſs him from his poſt, turn out

his

his meddling partizans, and reſtore things to quiet. For then, if he complains, it can be of no avail; the bee will have loſt his ſting, and become a drone, whoſe buzzing nobody heeds.

Your Majeſty will pardon me for the freedom with which I have given my ſentiments and advice; which I ſhould not have done, had you not commanded it; and had I not been certain, that your peace is much diſturbed by the contrivances of this turbulent man. I ſhall only add, that I will diſpoſe ſeveral, whom I know to wiſh him well, to ſollicit for his eſtabliſhment in power, that you may ſeem to yield to their entreaties, and the fineſſe be the leſs liable to be diſcovered. I hope to have the honour to attend your Majeſty in a few days, which I will do privately, that my public preſence may give him no umbrage. RT. W.

EPIGRAMS.

IF *George* * to prove that *Johnny* did not rule,
Turn'd the proud mortal's brother out of ſchool,
Our rulers *now* admitting them again,
Demonſtratively prove they're *Johnny*'s men.

* George G——ll—e

Sir Bob o'ercame a P—lt—y and a S—ds,
With honours ſtopt their mouths, and tied their hands;
But the great Thane has greater wonders hit,
Having ta'en in the world's late wonder, P—t.

EPITAPH *on the late* W. P.

C——M, no friend to truth, in fraud ſincere,
In act unfaithful, and from honour clear;
Who broke his promiſe, ſerv'd his private ends;
Who gain'd a title and who loſt all friends;
Diſhonour'd by himſelf, by none approv'd;
Curs'd, ſcorn'd, and hated, even by thoſe he lov'd

INTEL-

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

London July, 30, 1766.

YESTERDAY expired, in a fit of desperate frenzy, the once blazing *William Pynsent*, Esq; which name he lately assumed upon the succession to an estate which was left him by a *mistake*. He has for some time laboured under a complication of lust of power and pension, treachery, ingratitude, disappointment, revenge, and miscœconomy: but it is thought the immediate cause of his death was a fracture in his head, followed with a delirium, occasioned by a fall from a precipice, where he was scrambling for an higher title, and another pension. He was led to this rock by a northern GUIDE, in whose conduct he placed more confidence than in the experienced affection of a friend whose prudence and virtue had often saved him. He will shortly be *interred*, in the usual state, in the dormitory of his political predecessors, whose virtues he equalled, and whose examples he has followed. All ranks of people are in deep disconsolation for an accident so fatal to the name of PATRIOTISM, this event bringing to their remembrance the like miserable end of another W. P. of famous memory, who broke his neck about 25 years ago, and was buried in the same grave. What is very remarkable, the deceased bespoke a shroud for himself, trimmed with ermine, of the same pattern used upon the former occasion.

The PITT, a *first rate*, being much damaged in the *head*, in a *late cruise* on the coast of Scotland, is *paid off and laid up at Chatham*, where she is to serve as a *storeship*. On examination, her timbers, which were supposed to have been *true English heart of oak*, turn out to be nothing more than mere scantlings of a rotten *Scotch fir*.

It

It is much feared alſo, ſince this unhappy diſcovery, that the timber of the *Britannia*, another firſt rate, will be all found to be unſound, and that moſt of the ſhips in the government's ſervice will turn out to be compoſed of the ſame rotten materials.

It is determined that the *Temple* of *Liberty* at *Stowe*, notwithſtanding the *gawkineſs* of its ſtructure, ſhall be worn out without being *beautified*.

An addreſs to a late Great Commoner—*become a* little Peer.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip having failed in procuring the adulatory addreſſes of the great city to our moſt gracious Sovereign, (though attempted by your north-end friend) which, as uſual, were propoſed to have centered in yourſelf; or which, agreeably to your uſual modeſty, you would have applied to yourſelf; I muſt deſire you to accept of the following from an individual, who has, for 30 years paſt, looked upon you with wonder and aſtoniſhment; at the ſame time I muſt candidy acknowledge I am at a loſs to determine whether your words and deeds, or the infatuation of the multitude, are the greateſt ſubjects for amazement. Your words, your works, my Lord, have been repeatedly ſounded in our ears, and the latter, I am perſuaded, will never be forgot by lateſt poſterity.

It is an arduous taſk to recapitulate our ſorrows and our ſufferings; *infandum renovare dolorem*; but it is, however, at this time neceſſary, and therefore I ſhall attempt it, and ſet before thee the things which thou haſt done, though 'tis pain and grief to me, but in as few words as I am able.

Nature, my Lord, had granted you the powers of ſpeech, or elocution, (not of true, ſound eloquence) by which you were capable of rendering

ſervice

ſervice to your country; but you abuſed theſe faculties, and perverted their proper end: inſtead of rendering them ſerviceable, by making them ſubſervient to the intereſt of the kingdom, you employed them as inſtruments of your ambition: inſtead of opening the eyes of the people to their true intereſt, you have thrown duſt in them to their confuſion: You have blinded them by vain ſpeeches, and ſtipulated them to conſent to, and approve of meaſures which led ſtrait to ruin.

You ſat out, my Lord, with oppoſing and abuſing one of the ableſt miniſters this kingdom ever had; in which you ſtigmatized the monarch with weakneſs, or wickedneſs; in fact, you inſulted the Prince in perſon. You diſtreſſed government, and ruined the miniſter, and you immediately afterwards joined in protecting the man; by which, whether Sir Robert Walpole was guilty or innocent, you were guilty of the higheſt injuſtice to the Prince, the people, and the miniſter. You accepted, and held a large legacy, when you knew that, *in foro conſcientiæ*, you had no equitable right or pretence to it.

You were the principal, if not the ſole cauſe of raiſing a ferment in the nation, which rendered the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhment neceſſary, precluded mercy, and procured the——of A——B—. You inſulted the monarch, you wounded the heart of the good old K—— by your barborous and inſolent invectives againſt his paternal territories. You raiſed an inveterate and diſhonourable abhorrence among the people to all foreign countries on the continent. You vowed, you ſwore, that no Engliſh ſoldier, or guinea, ſhould ever be tranſported thither; you ſtormed your monarch's cloſet, forced yourſelf into power, broke all your vows, and o—s, broke the convention by which we were releaſed from a continental war, and poured an inundation

of

of Engliſh troops and Engliſh riches into that gulf. Was this ignorance, weakneſs, or wickedneſs?—We all know experimentally, and woefully feel that it was ruinous.

Did the ſucceſs we met with in the conqueſts made during your abſolute adminiſtration, ariſe from your capacity, knowledge, or underſtanding? Was every ſucceſsful plan your's, and did not almoſt every one of them fail at firſt (one entirely, viz. Rochfort) from ignorance? Were your letters fraught with language fit to inſpire men with a ſpirit to aſcend the ſteep and craggy rocks, and ſtorm a breach; would *ſpreading the warm alarm* do this?

Was your plan of ſacrificing the brave Britiſh blood, and treaſure; in lopping off the branches one by one, when the axe ſhould have been laid at firſt to the root of the tree; the work of an able or a weak head? Was your leaving the French iſlands, (the ſource of their riches, the ſinews of war) unconquered till the laſt, a proof of your abilities? But where was your great merit in conducting a war with conqueſt, at an expence which might have purchaſed the fee ſimple of the whole? Where was your merit in conducting a war, when, through the blindneſs of the people, infatuated by your paſſions, ſupplies were granted without oppoſition, which were as much the aſtoniſhment of mankind, as they are now become the lamentation of every thinking and feeling individual of this miſerable country? The greateſt difficulties which ever diſtreſſed any miniſtry from carrying on a war, proceeded from enemies at home: You had none of theſe to complain of: don't miſtake my meaning, my Lord, enemies you ſurely had, and many;—every ſober, honeſt, undeluded man in the kingdom was ſuch; but you had no oppoſers; you reigned Lord Paramount. If your Lordſhip is not acquainted with the reaſon of their non-oppoſition, I

will

will inform you. The madneſs, the blindneſs, the enthuſiaſm of the people was ſo great, (heaven having permitted you to be the inſtrument of their deluſion, in order to their future humiliation, as a puniſhment for their wickedneſs) that any ſuch attempt would have been vain; they loved their country too well to hazard its immediate ruin by any fruitleſs attempt to ſtem the tide of popular fury and madneſs. They knew your incapacity, your inability to *guide*, but they knew alſo, that the people could not be any way made ſenſible of it but by feeling. They would not give you the leaſt room to complain of oppoſition, of want of power, of the means of carrying on the war. They knew, if they gave you line enough, what muſt happen. But any child in politics, with your power, and thoſe means you were maſter of, would have done every thing which was done, that is, acquire, during your guidance, not only better, but at a much leſs expence both of blood and treaſure.

But the great, the ſole end of war is to acquire peace: There they knew you were ſtill more impotent: you, yourſelf, my Lord, were not ſo weak as not to be ſenſible of it. You had, indeed, rendered that taſk infinitely more difficult from your own imprudence. You had raiſed the paſſions of the people to a pitch of deſire and expectation, which it was impoſſible, in the nature of things, ever to gratify or content. You had transformed them from merchants to conquerors. Your Gazettes extraordinary; your vain, idle proceſſions; your Tower guns, bonfires, and illuminations, had heated and turned their brains; conqueſt, not commerce, became their darling paſſion; and, like your ambition, was not to be ſatisfied till they had graſped every thing which remained. To palliate the ſlaughter in North-America, you proclaimed that all Canada muſt be ours, to

be ever retained by us; but you might, you ought to have known, that the retaining that country, and wholly driving out the French, would be impolitic, and a real millſtone to England; that a riſing and flouriſhing people, as our colonies were, would infallibly aſpire at independency, and be productive of troubles in time. A miniſter fit for guiding, ſhould not be a ſhort-ſighted politician: you ſhould not have impreſſed the people with a paſſion for any particular conqueſt, till you were ſure it could be retained with prudence, ſafety, and ſound policy. At length you became ſenſible that the nation was tottering under the load of your dear bought conqueſt; that we were exhauſted both of men and money: unable to recruit our armies, or to man our fleets, without taking almoſt every huſbandman, labourer, and artificer from their employments, eſſential to our very exiſtence: That our ſhips wanted repair, our navy to be encreaſed, being inſufficient to defend and protect our commerce and conqueſts already made in every part of the globe, and to maintain even a defenſive war: That the neceſſary ſupplies for theſe purpoſes could not be raiſed but with difficulty and great diſtreſs, (notwithſtanding the large ſums in the hands of particulars) as none would lend without ſufficient ſecurity, and higher intereſt, proportionable to the wants of government; and the taxes were then encreaſed to that enormous height, which, from their natural conſequence, the riſe of the neceſſaries of life and of labour, would diſable and preclude us from any foreign trade. You ſaw the other powers of Europe, alarmed with the apparent, though mad attempt of our graſping at a univerſal monarchy of the ſeas and of trade, preparing to ſtop this rage for ſlaughter and conqueſts which you had inſpired, and a new and freſh enemy entering the liſts againſt you, in order to ſtop this madneſs; at the ſame time

time that a feeble friend muſt be protected; that your continental array could neither be recruited or drawn home. Theſe things, I ſay, you probably ſaw; if you did not, you were the blindeſt of mankind: you therefore wiſhed for peace; but you were become ſenſible your talents were not equal to that arduous, but moſt virtuous taſk. You ſweated for that vain, empty ſound of popularity, to which you had ever offered incenſe; for which you had ſacrificed an honeſt, brave, but credulous people, whom you firſt deceived under the maſk of patriotiſm, and then brought to the brink of deſtruction. You dreaded their awaking from thoſe golden dreams into which you had lulled them; you dreaded their juſt reſentment, perhaps, not without reaſon; you were ſenſible, that ſuch a peace, as reaſon, founded on our exhauſted condition, would point out to be truly ſafe and ſtrictly honourable, would be execrated by thoſe whom you had ſcrewed up to the higheſt pitch of Quixotiſm, and who would meaſure the goodneſs of any peace to be obtained, by the expence of the war, and by thoſe ſufferings which they muſt, as they now do, feel from the conſequences of your extravagance. You were ſenſible how open you had laid yourſelf during your uſurpation, how many blots there were to hit in your guidance, and you had neither courage to ſubmit to your fate, or virtue enough to make atonement. Thoſe poiſonous ſeeds in human nature, pride, ambition, and revenge, barred the door to every noble virtue. To ſecure your tottering popularity, to extricate yourſelf from thoſe dangers into which your pride had drawn you, and your ignorance involved the public, you arrogantly propoſed a ſtep to be taken, equally diſhonourable as hazardous, and which you well knew would be as ſhocking to thoſe, who had the ſafety, honour, and welfare of their country at heart, as

it would be pleaſing to the giddy, heated and deluded multitude, whom you had been *guiding* to the brink of deſtruction.

By your haughty and immediate reſignation, while you recovered your drooping popularity, and eaſed your ſhoulders from a burthen you wanted ability and courage to ſupport, you laid a plan to ruin any ſucceſſors. But Providence, ever a friend to wiſdom and honeſty, ſecured their ſucceſs. The meaſures purſued, procured honour in conqueſt, and your ſucceſſors then boldly, bravely, and virtuouſly put a ſtop to ruinous ſlaughter, and ſaved this kingdom from immediate deſtruction. The moment was ſeized before our enemies had recovered from their panic, or diſcovered the deplorable ſtate we were in, or our inability to carry on even a defenſive war two years longer, without falling into an abſolute and total bankruptcy and perdition. Peace was made, to which ſober-thinking, honeſt men and true patriots had but one objection, viz. that of our retaining too much, yet this was founded on neceſſity, a neceſſity into which you had thrown us. It was viſible to every unprejudiced perſon, that we ſhould quickly want ſecurity for the dependance of the colonies on the mother-country, in order to their aiding and aſſiſting her to heal thoſe wounds they had been the primary cauſe of making. The reſtraining the French within proper bounds, would have anſwered every juſt, equitable, and ſalutary purpoſe, and the leaving them within thoſe bounds, would have proved the beſt pledge and ſecurity to the equitable and neceſſary dependance of the colonies on the mother-country. But this you had rendered impracticable.—Your perſeverance in keeping up animoſities and diviſions in the kingdoms, and in fomenting feuds, diſabled the miniſtry from proſecuting with ſafety ſuch other meaſures, as might have ballanced that unfortunate,

though

though neceſſary ſtep; and as popularity will of courſe ſink, unleſs frequently ſtimulated by ſome freſh efforts, you roſe up the public champion of ——, and proclaimed yourſelf the friend of thoſe, who were riſing (againſt their own true intereſts) on the diſtreſſes of their parents and patrons, and ſetting up for total independency. To theſe diviſions of your ſowing and cheriſhing we owe the preſent licentiouſneſs, from which we already ſuffer ſo much, and from whence we have ſtill greater dangers to apprehend. To theſe we owe the non payment of Canada bills, Manilla ranſom, and other diſagreeable cauſes of complaint, from our enemies, who, awakened from their ſtupor, are able to diſcover our real weakneſs, and learn, that a kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand.

And now, my Lord, having ſum'd up, in as few words as the ſubject would permit, not all, but ſome of the moſt material acts of the late Great Commoner, as he was (injuriouſly to the epithet) ſtiled, of accurſed memory, I ſhall draw this extraordinary addreſs to its concluſion. Your late tranſactions, in regard to your peerage and place, are yet too dark and myſterious for me to be quite clear in their motives; my notions, however, I ſhall give you: All mankind acknowledged your pride and ambition were inſatiable, and that thoſe paſſions being ſo outrageouſly ſtrong, were the aſſemblage of all others which human nature is big with; that all your paſſions were united in that one ſingle luſt of guiding, dictating, and governing your Prince, your fellow ſubjects, and all mankind. I was once inclined to be of that opinion, but the firſt legacy raiſed a doubt in me: However, your penſion, your P—— eſtate, your treatment of the heir at law, your want of generoſity, and your new ſinecure place, have convinced me, that to the luſt after tyranny of power, was added and joined that execrable vice, avarice,

a luſt after riches. Theſe two vices, ambition and avarice united, in a ruler, are ſure to be ruinous to the ſtate. By obtaining the peerage and the place, you have in ſome degree gratified your two predominant paſſions; poſſibly your ſelf-opinion may prompt you to flatter yourſelf with yet ſaving or recovering your former popularity, but you may depend upon it, ſuch hopes are as vain as they are haughty; you are now ſunk for ever in the eſteem even of thoſe who were moſt blinded, moſt deluded, and deceived by you. Think not on practiſing any more your former low arts and cunning—double the length of your words, triple your long-winded orations, encircle yourſelf in ells of flannel, weep, ſigh, ſing, or totter ſtill more on your crutches—it will not do—the farce is now over, the curtain is dropt: change ſides again, abuſe the Scot, drop your new connections, endeavour to acquire newer; abuſe the miniſtry, inſult the M——; huff, bluſter, bully, and reſign——it will avail you not; the enchantment is broke, and at an end; the ſeat you degrade, by being lifted into it, will not ſupport you; your quondam behaviour will not quadrate with the ſacred place you are unworthily exalted to; your rants will not there procure a *hear him*; you will now meet with your ſuperiors in every quality; and, believe me, the peoples' eyes are now ſo thoroughly opened, that none of your baneful arts will ever blind them again.

For my part, I muſt own, that if you ever did an act worthy the approbation and thanks of your country, 'tis this laſt; accept, therefore, my Lord, of my addreſs of thanks to you on this occaſion, which meets with my entire approbation. From this act you, in ſome degree, merit my forgiveneſs of the manifold ſufferings you have brought on the preſent race, and entailed on their poſterity. Great vices ſeldom fail of bringing on their own puniſh-

ment.

ment. Pride and ambition create the ſtrongeſt mortifications, and theſe are the ſufferings of the d—d. To theſe I muſt reſign you, as you are *felo de ſe*.

I now conclude ſo far in charity with you, as to declare, as a human being, that I feel ſo much for your wretched ſtate, that if pity was not a-kin to love, I ſhould have ſome compaſſion for you.

From the Country. A. B.

P. S. Would you in any degree atone for the ſufferings you have brought on your country, throw up your penſion and your place; ſettle an honourable annuity on Sir R—— P——; ſhake hands with your much injured brothers, Lord —— and Mr. ———, and retire into the country for ever; and, that you may not be void of all conſolation, you may reflect, that (however different from your intentions) you are nevertheleſs the means of producing concord; that you have proved a monitor to the people, and taught and convinced them, how weak their judgments are in the choice of a friend, a patron, a patriot; how inadequate they are to judge of the merits of man, how unfit to chuſe, to force a miniſter on their monarch; more eſpecially on the Prince now ſitting on the throne, endowed with every quality by nature, ſtudy and inclination, to make his ſubjects truly great and really happy. Thus *in* your fall, and *from* your fall, other vain pretenders to an intimation of your preſumption will be warned from daſhing on the rock on which at length you have ſplit; and the people, by turning a deaf ear to loquacious inſolence, become wiſe, prudent, and loyal ſubjects to the beſt of Kings. Thus, my Lord, you may have one ſingle meritorious act to dwell upon and conſole yourſelf with.

On the frequent Changes, and new Meaſures.

THE variety of perſons, who, within a very ſhort compaſs of years, have been produced to the public in the firſt employments of the ſtate, hath diverted our attention from a more important object; from the meaſures they have purſued or meant to purſue. Amuſed and deluded by a ſucceſſion of illuſtrious names, we have hardly had time or inclination to conſider their different ſyſtems of adminiſtration, and have been more anxious to know by whom employments were filled, than how they were executed. It is an unavoidable and miſchievous conſequence of a frequent change of miniſters, that the nation is kept in a feveriſh ferment, heightened by theſe diſturbed viſions of half-formed miniſters and broken meaſures, which glide before our eyes, and ſeem to exiſt and periſh without either cauſe or effect. If, indeed, there were any truth in an idea, which ſeems to have been adopted for ſome years paſt, that the greateſt offices are but places of profit, or, taken in the moſt ſerious view, that the buſineſs of them is a ſuitable education for youth, or amuſement for age, we then ſhould only have to admire, or perhaps envy their good fortune, who had eſcaped the toil of deſerving ſuch ſpontaneous marks of Royal favour. But if it be ſtill a prevailing opinion, notwithſtanding any late endeavours to prove the contrary, that even the loweſt routine of office may require ſome degree of experience;—that the ordinary conduct of buſineſs may demand a ſpecies of activity ſomewhat different from the heat and petulance of youth, or the tremulous reſtleſſneſs of age; and that the nicer circumſtances and diſpoſitions of government of themſelves call for ſuperior abilities, it becomes of public moment to enquire, and of private duty to point out the conſequences of a ſucceſſion of miniſterial changes, wherein

wherein neither experience, nor activity, nor abilities appeared to have been regarded. But ſince the modern politics of the preſs are uſually no more than the accuſation or defence of party, and for that reaſon are but ill calculated either to inſtruct or perſuade, we ſhall proceed upon a different principle, abſtracted from the praiſe or cenſure of perſons or of parties. We dutifully rely upon his Majeſty's gracious intentions for the good of his people. Every change of his ſervants is a proof of his anxiety to place his affairs in ſuch hands, as might, if poſſible, ſatisfy his ſubjects; but every ſuch change is alſo an acknowledgment that the greateſt and beſt of Princes may be repeatedly deceived. Excluſive of the improbability of finding many different ſets of men well qualified for the conduct of national buſineſs, the very article of changing miniſters is an evil of the firſt magnitude. Perplexed with forms of office, whereof they find themſelves wholly ignorant; and oppreſſed with a weight of buſineſs, not only new to them, but probably left in diſorder by their predeceſſors, the firſt months of their adminiſtration are neceſſarily ſacrificed to ignorance and confuſion. Their plea of newneſs in office, and their demand of ſome reaſonable time to execute plans, which, perhaps, were never formed, muſt of courſe be admitted; but before the period arrives at which a well-founded judgment might be formed of their conduct, we ſee them ſuddenly diſcarded, and the nation again expoſed to the ſame inconvenience and diſtreſs from their ſucceſſors.

It is needleſs to obſerve that, under a mode of adminiſtration ſo weak and ſo unſteady, neither the honour of the nation can be ſupported with firmneſs and dignity, nor public buſineſs carried on with regularity and diſpatch. But in a view leſs obvious the danger will be found more alarming. Yet it may be thought almoſt a paradox to aſſert, that

frequent

frequent changes in the King's miniſterial ſervants violate the ſpirit of our conſtitution. In every other form of government, a ſucceſſion of different perſons in the great offices of ſtate is a part of their conſtitution; an evil inherent in it, but neceſſary to its exiſtence. The republic trembles for her liberty; the tyrant for his power. But it is in vain that our wiſe conſtitution hath comprehended all the virtues and excluded the defects of every other form of government; in vain have our laws provided for the uniform and permanent action of the executive power, if the hands that are to exert and carry into effect the authority of the firſt magiſtrate, have neither ſteadineſs nor ſtrength. It were nugatory to ſay that our laws give firmneſs and ſtability to that magiſtracy, in which the executive power reſides, yet that the miniſtry, to whom that power is delegated, and who, in all views of government and of reſponſibility, do really poſſeſs the power and repreſent the perſon of the Sovereign, may be appointed and diſcarded by a leſs than annual rotation. The deſign of the conſtitution in providing for the regular and ſteady government of the people, at the ſame time that it has ſecured their liberty by a conſtant fluctuation in the other parts of the legiſlative and judicial powers, is utterly defeated; and if ſuch a mode of adminiſtration be preferable to that of Turkey or Morocco, it is only ſo to the miniſters themſelves, who are not liable to be ſtrangled upon their diſmiſſion from employment, and who, indeed, are hardly allowed time to deſerve it. I would not be thought to mean that the places of miniſters ſhould be for life. No greater calamity could happen to a nation. But the next to it in degree is to have them frequently and arbitrarily removed.

If there be a poſſible remedy for theſe diſorders, it is high time to have it applied. If a whole nation

tion can be contented with a ſyſtem of government ſo looſe and ſo depraved (for a change of hands and uncertainty of meaſures ſeem now reduced to a ſyſtem) much more if they can applaud the levity and weakneſs that only varies their diſtreſs, the proſpect before us will be almoſt deſperate. If they can be habituated to ſee with indifference their moſt eſſential intereſts made the ſport of ignorance, of vanity, and avarice, without any ſteady direction from the crown, what hope will remain of ever recovering from anarchy and confuſion. To ſay the truth, ſuch baſe ſupineneſs will neither deſerve compaſſion nor relief. Sir, no man can feel more intimately than I do for the afflictions with which the beſt of ſovereigns is ſurrounded and oppreſſed. Anxious as he is for the happineſs of his people, what muſt he ſuffer at being involved in the diſtractions of a worthleſs tribe, who only contend with one another in what manner they can moſt torment their maſter and ruin his ſubjects. It is no violation of duty and affection to him to declare loudly, what his gracious heart is but too ſenſible of—WE ARE ILL GOVERNED. A good Engliſhman may and will be attached to the perſon of a good Prince, while he beholds the conduct of his ſervants with abhorrence. He will lament the misfortune of his Sovereign, and conſider it as a part of his own.

But let me haſten to the great object, which I had in view in writing this paper. It is in vain for us to diſſemble any longer, or to conceal our ſituation from ourſelves. We have hitherto voluntarily ſhut our eyes to the accumulated ruin that has been gathering round us. A debt, of which few men can form an exact conception, although we eaſily repeat the words that deſcribe it;—the whole laborious part of our people driven by penury to deſpair, and ready with a ſtrong hand to violate, perhaps, wholly to ſubvert the laws;—our foreign commerce

underfold and periſhing in every market in Europe ;—one moſt conſiderable branch of it (formerly the great ſupport of our interior currency) upon the point of final diſſolution ;—the crown of Great Britain inſulted, and the moſt ſolemn treaties with us arbitrarily violated by the moſt abject court in Europe, notwithſtanding that their very exiſtence depends upon the protection of this country ;—a total loſs of weight and dignity in our tranſactions with foreign powers.

Evils ſo numerous, and of ſuch magnitude, require but one addition to make the ſtate of this kingdom compleatly calamitous. If we had a hope of ever being extricated from them, this weak, unſteady, miſerable adminiſtration of affairs at home would deprive us of it. How ſhall a monſtrous debt be diminiſhed?—How ſhall the diſtreſſes of the bulk of the people be relieved, or the fatal conſequences of their deſpair prevented?—How ſhall interior induſtry or foreign commerce be revived, if the whole government of the nation be relaxed, which *muſt* be the caſe as long as it is committed to men new to buſineſs, diſunited among themſelves, incapable of forming any fixed general plan, or of purſuing any determined ſyſtem of meaſures ; and whoſe abilities, if they had any, could never, under ſuch circumſtances of weakneſs and diſtraction, operate with ſucceſs. Theſe reflections, are not the exaggerations of a heated fancy. Every man, who will permit himſelf to examine them for a moment, will be ſatisfied that they are but too well founded. What then muſt be done? What defence can be oppoſed to ſuch complicated ruin? A criſis like this demands that the two great bodies of the legiſlature ſhould aſſume the exerciſe of the moſt honourable and moſt important duty of their office. They are not called together merely to preſent addreſſes of humble thanks for benefits not

received

received, or to grant money for ſervices not accounted for, or to paſs acts of indemnity for unwarrantable ſtretches of prerogative. Theſe, however uſeful, are not the only objects of their duty. No, by their inſtitution they are aſſembled to adviſe their Sovereign, if, indeed, there be yet room for advice. When every thing that can concern a great nation is at ſtake, they are not to be overſcrupulous of pointing out to ſo good a Prince in what manner his prerogative in the choice of his ſervants, might have been better exerciſed. It is not to be doubted but that a firm and dutiful remonſtrance upon the ſtate of the nation, from the two Houſes of Parliament, would be attended with a ſalutary effect; nor is it difficult to imagine, what the terms and purport of it might be.

But if the legiſlative body ſhould neglect to take a ſtep ſo neceſſary and ſo conſtitutional, what alternative will remain? The caſe has happened, and our conſtitution ſuppoſes it may happen again. When the government is become totally weak or oppreſſive;—when protection, refuſed on one ſide, has looſened the compact on the other;—and when, in ſo alarming a conjuncture, the legiſlative powers are ſilent and inactive; the collective body of the people will re-aſſume their natural rights; and, ſince the caſe can neither be ſuppoſed nor provided for by any written law, they will be directed by the great original law of ſelf-preſervation. Much will be hazarded; but like their glorious anceſtors, they will redreſs the conſtitution. May this ſtruggle, or rather may the indiſpenſable neceſſity of it, be far removed.

VINDEX.

The ſubject continued.

VINDEX's letter was filled with melancholy apprehenſions for the public ſafety, drawn from the apparent weakneſs and diſtraction of the councils

councils by which we were then governed: but, ſince that letter was publiſhed, the ſtate of things has been conſiderably altered. A change * has happened, which, but a few days ago, we had little reaſon to expect. The noble——himſelf, to whoſe prudence and patriotiſm we are indebted for it, either had, or meant that we ſhould believe he had, a very different plan under conſideration: it was impoſſible he could foreſee the event which has now taken place, unleſs he was always ſecretly determined to reſerve this for his laſt reſource. There was lately no proſpect of harmony among his ——'s principal ſervants, or of any ſteady direction in government. We had every thing to fear from a weak, divided adminiſtration. If theſe were evils ſo alarming as we have ſeen repreſented, we have now ſufficient reaſon to rejoice, and to congratulate ourſelves upon ſeeing the cauſe of them removed. A compact of private friendſhip, and a ſtrict union of political intereſts, lately declared, though perhaps, not lately formed, between the —— of —— and the —— of ——, gives us all poſſible reaſon to believe that the management of public affairs is now ſettled upon a firm and ſolid foundation. If we have at this time any dangers to apprehend, they are certainly of a very different nature from thoſe with which the former diviſions of the two great men have threatened us. I doubt not they are cloſely united, and will remain ſo in ſpite of all the oppoſition of a numerous faction, or the vain jealouſies of a ſuſpicious people. The——of —— cannot be too much admired for his prudence, in widening the bottom of his adminiſtration. He has taken in the whole kingdom of Scotland, and for the ſake of public good, has glorioufly ſacrificed

* This change was the turning out Lord Edgcumbe, and others, at the beginning of December 1766.

all

all his reſentments, real or ſuppoſed, to the reſpectable chief of that antient nation. Nor, indeed, is this the only ſacrifice he has made with the ſame laudable view. The principle of public neceſſity, on which he hazarded *a violation of the laws of the land*, has ſufficiently juſtified him, at leaſt in his own mind, in the accidental *violation of many other laws*. Every candid man will, I think, readily agree with him, that neither conſiſtency of conduct, nor repeated declarations, nor public decency, nor the vain opinion of the world, are to be regarded, when the firſt of all objects, the *ſalus populi* is in queſtion. But of this hereafter. We may now rejoice in the well-founded hope that, for the future, we ſhall be uniformly governed. The two —— having but one intereſt, will, undoubtedly, agree in one plan of adminiſtration, as well as in a total excluſion of thoſe factious noblemen, who, from their rank and fortune, might think themſeves entitled to ſome ſhare of power as well as place; and whoſe ungovernable ambition might, perhaps, interrupt the uniformity with which the two —— intend to govern this country. Under their direction the other departments of the ſtate may be ſafely committed to natives of Ireland and Scotland, who, beſides their pliancy in the tranſaction of buſineſs, have acquired an intereſt, almoſt equal to a natural one in this country, and a ſort of preſcriptive right to be employed in governing it. As to the families of Cavendiſh, Ruſſel, Bentinck and Grenville, it is plain that their principles favour too much of revolutions, to be truſted with any ſhare in a fixed and ſteady adminiſtration; and, indeed, one would think that the care of their overgrown eſtates would furniſh them with ſufficient employment, and prevent their meddling in matters they have ſo little concern in. The——of——'s plan, taken in this view, is full of ſpirit and patriotiſm.

There

There breathes through it a noble diſregard of the empty forms, which are ſuppoſed to influence the weaker part of mankind, and an invariable adherence to one great object, which, through the whole courſe of his life, he has had in contemplation; though, like a traveller through a winding road, he had it not always in his immediate view. The regularity of his conduct demonſtrates, that he always conſidered his own intereſt and that of the public as one and the ſame, and that he never purſued the latter without the ſincereſt conviction that he thereby promoted the former. In my humble opinion it was not poſſible for him to have acted upon more enlarged principles.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe favourable appearances, there will be people malicious enough to attempt to give a different turn to his late conduct, and to ſuſpect that the articles of his union with the——of—are little favourable to this country. The ſame people may, perhaps, endeavour to trace him through his whole political life, with a degree of exactneſs that may ſavour of aſperity. They may repreſent him as a man, who, at his firſt outſet, engaged in oppoſition without one grain of principle, and renounced it without one ſpark of ſhame; who, while in office, earned the wages of a lucrative employment, by ſubmitting to every loweſt drudgery, impoſed on him by the very people he had moſt abuſed and reviled. Who, on the approach of a critical conjuncture, withdrew himſelf from danger, abandoned the patrons he had laſt defended, and returned to oppoſition with redoubled acrimony and hypocriſy, which could only be parallelled in former paſſages of his own life—Who, favoured by extraordinary circumſtances of national deſpondence and diſtreſs, and in the very article on which he founds the leaſt equivocal part of his reputation, played the part of a deſperate

gameſter,

meſter, committed all to fortune, at every caſt of the die hazarded the happineſs, nay the exiſtence of his country, and who, in the end, luckily won a greater number of ſtakes than he loſt—Who eagerly ſeized the firſt plauſible pretence for quitting the direction of a war, which he was convinced he could never conclude to the ſatisfaction of the people—Who from that hour exerted all his arts to embarraſs, impede, and perplex the meaſures of government, and to blacken the character of the Scotchman, whom he induſtriouſly repreſented as the author of his quitting the miniſtry—Who has ſtaked his own reputation upon the never uniting with that Scotchman, or ſerving with him or under him—Who has at length wheedled himſelf into a power which he had affected to decline for the reſt of his life; and who, in the laſt inſtance, finding himſelf unable by any honourable means to ſupport that power, and in conſummation of all his former conduct, has ſhaken hands with that Scotchman, made common cauſe with him, and entered into articles of agreement with him to divide the power which he could not appropriate entirely to himſelf. Theſe, Sir, are the inſinuations which ſome people may throw out with rather too much ſeverity.

The friends of the —— of ——, who have had the happineſs of knowing him in private life, may, perhaps, be induced to add ſome ſtrokes to his panegyric. They may talk of an imperious maſter, an inſolent, over-bearing companion, an unfeeling, inſidious relation:—one man there is who, I fear, has too much reaſon to remember an ungrateful brother. But, excluſive of theſe perſonal imputations, there are men who will be unreaſonable enough to make him anſwerable even for the faults and inconſiſtencies of his friends and dependants. If they ſee a great ——— in one place the moſt zealous

and animated advocate for the liberty of the ſubject, and the inviolable ſanctity of the laws; in another the ſupporter of prerogative, and deſerter of the profeſſion he roſe by; in one place declaring that the conſtitution was at an end, if the meaneſt ſubject, impriſoned falſely but for an hour, could not obtain the fulleſt redreſs; in another, treating a t————y of forty days, by which the whole nation was affected, with indifference and ridicule; if they ſee him induſtriouſly taking advantage of a favourable conjuncture to eſtabliſh a precedent that may ſap the ————, and afterwards meanly employing his friends to recant for him;—if they obſerve ſuch conduct in ſo diſtinguiſhing a perſonage, what will they ſay?—they will not ſcruple to aſſert, that his connection with another great man has contaminated his mind; that he could never have become ſo wilfully miſtaken, if his judgment had not been warped by that man's authority and example. Another of the ——'s boſom friends had almoſt ruined his lungs with bellowing forth Liberty and Property and Magna Charta: He was ſuppoſed to be in earneſt, and that circumſtance induced his hearers to ſupport, with patience, the abſurdity of his underſtanding, and the barbarous ſoliciſms of his language; but how will he be heard for the future! In vain will he endeavour to explain nonſenſe into meaning, or treaſon into patriotiſm. His words and his explanation ſtand upon record againſt him, and (if ſuch a man can be remembered) will deliver down his name, with his newly adopted ſyſtem of prerogative and diſpenſing powers, to the *contempt of poſterity*.

But to return to the great Archetype himſelf. The ſame uncandid turn may incline ſome people to aſk, with an air of ſneer and ſarcaſm, who are his new friends, who are his moſt confidential intimates?—are they men united with him by the natural

tural ties of blood or affection? or, is it their conduct in public affairs, their uniform ſupport of his meaſures while in adminiſtration, or their notorious reverence for his character that has recommended them to his eſteem? if none of theſe cauſes can be alledged for his extraordinary predilection in favour of one ſet of men, his friends will be obliged to ſeek the motive of it leſs in their virtues than his own. They will undoubtedly place it to the credit of his charity, his moderation, and that ſuperior fortitude which can ſubmit to the groſſeſt inſults without reſentment, and return them with nothing but confidence and affection. For ſuch friends, and upon ſuch motives, can there be a doubt about the propriety of deſerting a generous brother, whoſe ſimple heart, whoſe thoughtleſs virtue ſurrendered all his ambition, employed all his fame, his intereſt and his fortune, for the excluſive ſervice of the man he loved.

Language like this, however uncandid, however unjuſt, will be held oftener, perhaps, than it will be anſwered. With regard to public appearances, it might, indeed, be of ſome little uſe to his L———p to have it effectually anſwered. As to his own private repoſe, I am ſatisfied it is not to be interrupted by the malignant diſcourſes or idle ſpeculations of the world: he has wiſely built his interior tranquility upon a ſolid ſtone, which is lodged in his own breaſt. With the heart-felt ſatisfaction of having invariably done his duty, he can fear nothing from the ſtings of conſcience. Few men can boaſt of what I doubt not this noble——may affirm with great truth, that the dreadful inward monitor, which puniſhes crimes that have eſcaped the law, has either acquitted him intirely, or at leaſt given him no ſort of diſturbance.

The Favourite and the miniſter have made an equal contribution to the joint ſtock for their mu-

tual eſtabliſhment and preſervation; the one by his ſecret and undiminiſhed influence, the other by his popularity. After diſtracting this unhappy country for a number of years with their mutual animoſities and ſeperate ambition, they have at laſt reſolved to play a ſurer game, amicably to divide the power between them. VERITAS.

Attack upon Mr. G. G.

AS the good-natured public is always ready to be the dupes of whoever pretends to act in their behalf, and as the Gentle Shepherd and J— of B———y are forced to take up with one another again, by the failure of J——'s exorbitant demands, it may be proper, before the public again accepts theſe honeſt gentlemen as patriots, to make ſome conditions with them.

The Gentle Shepherd, originally a Republican, then a Tory, then a deputy of the Scotch Favourite, and then a High Prerogative Miniſter, is once more ſetting up for a Revolution Whig, being whatever ſuits his views for the time. But it is time too that he ſhould make his laſt choice, and adhere to ſome principles. If he means any thing beſides his own intereſt and ambition, let him declare himſelf fully, and before he accuſes others of arbitrary deſigns, let us know what his own are. If he intends to defend the liberties of the people, let him with due contrition and repentance diſavow his own arbitrary government; let him diſclaim General Warrants, and not only condemn them in others, but confeſs how wicked he was in ſupporting them; let him bewail with tears the arbitrary fines ſet on Printers, let him diſavow that tool of power P. W. let him acknowledge his own blundering ſtamp-act, his inſolent treatment of the merchants, and, above all things, deplore his bloody and violent attempts to enſlave North America;

let

let him acknowledge his ſervility to France and Spain, in the compoſition he made for the entertainment of the French priſoners, and in neglecting to obtain the payment of the Canada bills and the Manilla ranſom; and as he is ſo rich, let him aſſiſt the poor, inſtead of being generous at the expence of the public, by propoſing to iſſue money out of the Treaſury for their relief; and let him ſhew his diſlike of penſions and reverſions by giving up his ſon's reverſion, and by not holding a light-houſe under a borrowed name.

J—— of B———y and his adherents muſt diſclaim their peace with France; and the next time they think of ſelling Lord Gawkee and the Gentle Shepherd, they will do well to have ſome modeſty, and not aſk for more places, penſions and reverſions, than they have friends in the oppoſition. As the whole number united amounts but to forty-eight, twenty ſix thouſand pounds a year would be a dear bargain—unleſs they can engage to make the Gentle Shepherd not ſpeak above three hours every day.

As both the Gentle Shepherd and J—— throw out inſinuations againſt the Favourite, will they promiſe never to court him again? Will they give aſſurances that they will never turn out his brother, and then aſk pardon of the Favourite at a certain Scotch Lord's houſe? Will they promiſe not to be cringing and inſolent by turns? And till they can wipe out the ſtains, which they have contracted by all their former behaviour, can they hope that the public will not laugh in their faces, when ſuch men have the confidence to act patriots? They are left to themſelves, and no man can act with them who has the leaſt regard to his character: they may diſgrace others, but can never whitewaſh themſelves.

REPLY.

YOUR anonymous correſpondent, who has ſo liberally and ſo falſely reflected on the character of a late Miniſter, has, however, in the front of his eſſay, by way of vehicle to his poiſon, inſerted a very commendable propoſition; I mean, an endeavour to ſhew the public by whom they are duped and abuſed. The execution of this plan is miſerable indeed, and the more ſo becauſe he has wilfully ſhut his eyes againſt a glaring example of his theſis, and attempted, by the groſſeſt calumnies, to divert the attention of the public from the impoſitions which are daily and hourly practiſing. It is not the meer calling a man a *Republican*, *a Tory*, *a Prerogative* man that *proves* him to be ſo! My aſſertion is as good as his, and the propereſt anſwer to all this is, that the gentleman alluded to is deſcended of a family remarkable for their zeal in defence of the revolution, and of the principles upon which that revolution was grounded; that he has in the courſe of a long political life, conſtantly adhered to theſe principles; and the appeal for the truth of this is to the memory and judgment of every candid and honeſt man. The charge of his ſupporting General Warrants is totally falſe, and has been ſo often denied in public aſſemblies, uncontradicted, that no ſmall degree of proof is to be derived from it. It is likewiſe falſe that any office whatever, either belonging to, or raiſing from any light-houſe duties, or from any branch of revenue, is held for the gentleman in queſtion by any one. And with regard to the reverſion for his ſon, the objection to it ariſes with peculiar propriety from thoſe whoſe patrons have, in the three firſt months of their power, ſaddled the public and their S——n with penſions and additional fine cures to the amount of the intereſt of

ONE

ONE MILLION! Leaving your correſpondents to reflect on the unworthineſs of ſuch falſe accuſations, I recur to a queſtion of much greater conſequence than the altercation of individuals; I mean, by whom it is that the public have been, and are duped and deceived? The anſwer is a ſhort and a plain one. By thoſe who have out of power promiſed them ſignal advantages, and who have in power more ſignally injured and oppreſſed them. Who is it that has ſung the ſweet ſtrain of union and harmony? And who is it, I would aſk, that has banded with, divided, courted, inſulted, applied to, and betrayed every ſet of men amongſt us? Who is it that has profeſſed conſiſtency? and who is it that has adopted meaſures directly the reverſe of, and deſtructive to each other.

But, away with generals, come to particulars: Who is it that talked of public œconomy? and who is it that has made the moſt extenſive, exhorbitant, grants? Who did in July declare L——d G—— a very unfit man to be employed in government? and who applied to the above nobleman in Auguſt, September, October, and November, offering him his own terms, and particularly offering to burthen the civil L——t with 1200l. per annum additionally upon his account.

Let your correſpondent aſk his patron, what are become of the prodigious ſchemes with which the public have been amuſed? Where are thoſe proviſions for the ſecurity of the ſubject ſo liberally promiſed? Where are thoſe amputations of the unſound parts of the conſtitution, which were declared to be ſo indiſpenſable? What is become of the Manilla ranſom, which the deluded populace were taught to expect from their doughty champion? All that has been heard of is *buying*, *ſelling*, *offering to any man, any thing*. Theſe are not aſſertions at random. The B——d party and Mr. B—— are

 inſtances

inſtances of this. Let the public judge then who has made them promiſes, and how well they have been kept; and let the anonymous reviler of others take care how he accuſes for the future, leaſt the charges ſhould remind the public of applying them where they are ſo juſtly due.

A True Briton.

FURTHER REPLY.

THOUGH I was fully ſatisfied with the anſwer which I read in a paper of the 11th inſt. to the anonymous reflexions on a late Miniſter, yet as more than one paper has had candour enough to repeat the ſcandal, and ingenuity enough to omit the reply, I ſhall not delay the communication of ſuch remarks as I made with my pencil in the peruſal of it, having no private materials, and indeed none are requiſite, but appealing to notorious facts for the truth of my obſervations. The words in italics are the charge, the reſt is to be conſidered as the anſwer. The gentleman in queſtion (ſays the accuſer) *was originally a republican*, i. e. he is known to be deſcended from an old whig family, remarkable for their zeal in defence of the revolution, and for a ſtrict adherence to the principles upon which that revolution is grounded. *Then a Tory*, anſwered in the preceding article, *then a Deputy of the Scotch Favourite:* He was diſmiſſed, and univerſally known to be ſo, becauſe he was not the Deputy of the Earl of ——, and for the part ſaid to have been taken by him in the diſmiſſion of the Earl's brother, *then a high prerogative Miniſter*. During his Miniſtry, the word prerogative was never uſed by him. It ſeems reſerved for the truly Whig, and patriotic a——n of the Earl of C——, to defend the liberty of the ſubject, by aſſerting the high prerogative doctrines of ſtate neceſſity, and a diſpenſing power beyond even the

the deſperate days of James the Second. *Let him diſavow his own arbitrary government.* The late miniſter will not probably diſavow his government, and, among other reaſons, becauſe it was not in any inſtance arbitrary. *Let him diſclaim general warrants, and confeſs how wicked he was in ſupporting them.* He never ſupported general warrants, nor aſſerted that they were legal, but contended, that while the determination of them was pending in the courts of law, it was unfit for one Houſe of Parliament to come to any reſolution concerning them. *Let him bewail with tears the arbitrary fines ſet on printers.* He never was acceſſary in the ſmalleſt degree to any fine being impoſed on printers, on the contrary it is well known, that when the cenſure of a certain Houſe was propoſed to be inflicted on a printer, who had very groſsly abuſed and traduced him, he ſtood up in his place to beg the printer off, and prevailed with the Houſe to take no notice of the matter. *Let him diſavow that tool of power P. W.* He has nothing to do either to avow or diſavow P. W. having never had any intercourſe with him but what was merely official. *Let him acknowledge his own blundering ſtamp act.* It is not probable that he will diſown an act (in which there were no blunders) which was founded in principles of the ſtricteſt juſtice both to Great-Britain and the colonies. It will be well for thoſe, who from perſonal reſentments and jealouſy forced on the repeal of that act, if they do not wiſh to diſavow the part they took in that repeal. Let any man read *The Conduct of the late Adminiſtration examined*, where every *fact* is fully diſcloſed. *His inſolent treatment of the merchants:* Aſk the merchants, and they will unanimouſly give the lye to this aſſertion. *And, above all things, deplore his bloody and violent attempts to enſlave North America.* He certainly need not deplore having contributed

to

to ſurrender the legiſlative rights of this country over ſo extenſive a part of its dominions. *Let him acknowledge his ſervility to France and Spain in the compoſition he made for the entertainment of the French priſoners, and in neglecting to obtain the payment of the Canada Bills and the Manilla Ranſom.* The proceedings on the buſineſs of Turk's Iſland, and the Muſqueto Shore, demonſtrate undeniably his ſervility to France and Spain; the money obtained for the maintenance of priſoners had this ſingular circumſtance attending it, that it was the only ſum ever acquired to the Britiſh Exchequer upon that account, and the meaſure received the unanimous approbation of the Commons of England. The Canada Bills have ſince been compromiſed upon terms inferior to thoſe which, during the late A———n, were repeatedly refuſed, as being an inſult on the honour of the nation to accept. It is hoped, that as many inſtances have been made of late for the payment of the Manilla Ranſom, as he continually repeated during his adminiſtration; However this may be, the ſucceſs of the later applications has been exactly the ſame with that of the former, and no degree of merit is therefore to be aſſumed, or of blame to be charged, in the one caſe any more than in the other. To the propoſition of iſſuing money from the Treaſury for the relief of the poor, had I the honour of adviſing him, he would moſt certainly (capital as the offence is) plead guilty: and let it be remembered, that when that a———n, which had encouraged and connived at colonial tumults, and which had even rewarded thoſe tumults with the relief ſo outragiouſly extorted, refuſed to the poor ſtarving natives of Great Britain a ſum of money to alleviate their diſtreſs: The encouragement they were to expect was condign puniſhment, and ſpeedy juſtice. With regard to the light-houſe ſaid to be held for

him

him under a borrowed name, the charge is totally and entirely falſe; no ſuch light-houſe has been granted or holden by himſelf, or any one elſe in his name. Had any of thoſe grants expired, or been near the term of expiration, I cannot ſee any reaſon why he might not have availed himſelf of it; and for the truth and juſtice of this I will appeal to his ſucceſſor in office, who, notwithſtanding there were twenty-eight years unexpired of a former grant, gave the reverſion of a light-houſe after that remote period, and which his predeceſſor probably conſidered as too remote to make uſe of.—The ſeveral articles of the anonymous charge have now been gone through, and have been anſwered from no private information, but from public and notorious facts; and as the falſity of every one of them has been evidently ſhewn, it is not intended to go farther. If perſonal altercation and invective were aimed at, how eaſy were it to contraſt the five months of the preſent a———n with the twenty-ſix months above alluded to. If the doctrines held, the meaſures adopted, the penſions, titles, grants offered and given during the reſpective periods were compared together, the gentleman who has been ſo ſhamefully traduced would not, I am confident, ſuffer upon the compariſon.

VERAX.

On Lord Chatham's Return to Power.

Lombard-ſtreet, Dec. 22, 1766.

THAT there never was ſo unaccountable a race of men, as the good people of England, will be readily granted by every one, who has conſidered their temper and conduct for ſome time paſt.

I appeal to the whole world, whether ever a child longed for a play-thing with a more eager impatience,

tience, than this ſame good people of England longed for the illuſtrious patriot William Pitt;—the whole world is now witneſs with what ſhameleſs inconſtancy they deſire to get rid of him.

In what has Lord Chatham belied the expectations which the public had from Mr. Pitt? Let us examine what theſe expectations were; and theſe being determined, we ſhall be the better able to judge whether he has fulfilled them or not.

Amongſt the thouſands and tens of thouſands who called out ſo loudly for Lord Chatham to take the *whole* adminiſtration into his own hands, I do not remember that any one perſon had any one ſpecific hope of any one great national purpoſe which he was to effect. The hope formed of him was, like his genius, great, large, extenſive, unconfined, general, indeterminate, vaſt, and boundleſs.

No one flattered himſelf that under him we ſhould ſee a revival or extenſion of commerce; no one thought ſo meanly of him as to imagine that he would attend to the improvement or encouragement of manufactures: plans for the internal police and good government of the country were not expected from his exalted genius: the improvement or well ordering of the finances was a drudgery that no perſon, however fooliſh, ever dreamed he would condeſcend to: indeed he had ſo often declared his ignorance of, and contempt for all theſe trifling objects, that whoever had entertained ſuch hopes, muſt have been actually mad; but ſuch a madman was not, I confeſs, found in this country.

What then was expected? It is a captious and invidious queſtion, and hardly deſerves an anſwer; but I will give it the ſame anſwer, which all his true admirers gave it—Every thing.

If that does not content people, I know not how to content them: I can add nothing to it, except I

were

were to ſay, that perhaps one, and one only expectation, which came any thing near to preciſion, was entertained, and that was—A WAR.—Whether that expectation will be fulfilled, I am not wiſe enough to gueſs. We may be bleſſed with it, when we leaſt expect it, eſpecially if this great man ſhould condeſcend to aſſure us, that the *peace*, which he formerly called only an *armed truce*, was eſtabliſhed upon the moſt immoveable foundations. If a ſolemn panegyric upon that happy event ſhould be publicly delivered by a perſon diſtinguiſhed by conſiderable marks of his favour; and if every perſon is ſo diſtinguiſhed by him, juſt in the proportion in which he has ſhewn his zeal and abilities in defending that glorious meaſure. This is the irregular and daring manner by which great genius is characteriſed.

The hopes of the people then were, within a trifle, ſimply and ſolely this,—that Lord Chatham ſhould be miniſter, *ſole*, *abſolute*, *and uncontroulable* miniſter. Be ſatisfied, then, you perpetual grumblers; the miniſter you wiſhed for is given to you, and in the manner you wiſhed for him, is he given to you. You wiſhed that he ſhould be abſolute; and merely to pleaſe you, though in direct contradiction to the known meekneſs and humility of his nature, he reſolved to be abſolute.

It is unhappy for us, that (whether from age and a complication of diſorders, or from mere human infirmity) he is not able to fill all the offices of the ſtate himſelf; but ſince, unfortunately for poor old England, he is not able to diffuſe himſelf as extenſively as we wiſh, it became then indiſpenſably neceſſary, that all offices ſhould be filled by men of pliant, tractable, ſubmiſſive minds and manners.

Virtue, honour, opinion, and attachment to an honourable connection, are all mortal enemies to paſſive obedience, and an implicit faith; men, therefore,

therefore, poſſeſſed of any of theſe qualities, were utterly unfit for, and entirely incompatible with the ſcheme which he had formed, at your earneſt deſire, for being the *ſole* miniſter.

But if he has been ſo lucky as to find men, who have ſhewn a proper docility and diligence, by having gone through all the rough work of Lord B—e's and G——e G——e's patriotic adminiſtrations, we ſhall want very little then to render us a contented, happy people. We ſhall then have buſineſs (it is not our part to care what that buſineſs is) carried on with regularity. We ſhall have *energy* reſtored to government (why ſhould we enquire what ſort of government it is?) and without minding upon what principles connections are made, we ſhall ſee an end put to all proud connections.

If this great perſonage ſhould, in compliance with the deſires of the public, to which he owes ſo much, confer the office of Receiver of the Land-tax on the Chamberlain of London, we ſhall have nothing to wiſh; but every one to ſit down under his vine and fig-tree, and enjoy his ſhare of the national felicity. TRANQUILLUS.

The ſubject continued.

IN my laſt letter I mentioned the neceſſity which Lord C——m was under, from the unhappy impoſſibility of his holding all the offices of the ſtate himſelf, to appoint ſuch men in the ſeveral departments of government as were of practicable diſpoſitions, eaſy morals, pliant and tractable tempers; who had no opinions of their own, or at leaſt without obſtinacy to maintain, or even urge their opinions; men ready to receive orders, and obey command, without that impertinence which leads to examine the juſtice or wiſdom of ſuch orders and commands; men ready and able for all work; to plant or to root up; to build or to pull down; to make

make and to unmake; able to run, and willing to ſtand ſtill; to ſpeak or to be ſilent; to encourage licentiouſneſs or extend prerogative;—in ſhort, a band of ſuch well diſciplined ſoldiers as acknowledge no principle but obedience, no duty but executing orders; pretty indifferent whilſt they obey and act, whether it is againſt their adverſaries, or againſt their friends, whether they ſpoil the enemy, or pillage their country.

Such, with very little exception, is our preſent political corps, ſelected with care, for this purpoſe, from all the others in the kingdom.

With this well-diſciplined, and let me add (no trifling conſideration) this well-paid army, our General has taken the field; he has opened the campaign, and the ſucceſs already promiſes to be equal to our moſt ſanguine expectations.

But, to drop this allegory, and to reſume things by their right names. Our great miniſter has begun to act, and one of his wiſe, deep, and well-digeſted ſchemes for ſaving this nation from deſtruction, and for raiſing her to a pitch of wealth and glory unknown to former, and inimitable by future times, has been committed into their hands to be carried into execution.

Get money from the E—t I—d—a C—p—y was the command; the how, the where, the wherefore, were far below him; theſe minuiæ of politics, this little dirty mechanical detail of buſineſs, was unworthy of his great ſoul. The great outline was his; they are paid for the drudgery.

You will here recollect, that my only purpoſe is to prove the neceſſity and propriety of the choice he has made, whenever it was quite in his power to chuſe, of men to fill the ſeveral offices; I do not intend, (at leaſt not at preſent) to enter upon a defence of his ſchemes; God knows they ſpeak loudly enough for themſelves, I ſhall therefore proceed to

ſhew,

ſhew, how impoſſible it muſt be to carry on the preſent ſcheme of getting money from the E. I. C——y, if he ſhould have men under him of any other indiſpoſitions than thoſe I have already deſcribed.

We have already ſeen ſome miſchievous, and almoſt fatal conſequences, from ſuffering the ſyſtem to be ſometimes broke in upon, by the humours of one very whimſical man, who happens to be amongſt us; and though very odious to us, ſeems to be neceſſary for the moment. If this man ſhould continue his habits of liſtening to reaſon, of enforcing it unſeaſonably, and of contradicting even in law-matters, the opinion of our lawyers (thoſe opinions for which we have paid ſo ſmart a price) I ſubmit to all good judgments, whether any fooliſh credit of having this man in our corps, can outweigh the fatal conſequences of the leaſt relaxation of diſcipline. He ought to be puniſhed in my opinion, with the ſame juſt ſeverity which he felt under a former manly adminiſtration. But I ſay the leſs on this head, becauſe I know how hateful he is to us all, and that we only keep him, from a principle (though I think we are miſtaken in the application of it) of our favourite State Neceſſity.

But ſuppoſe this diſpoſition had been any way general: ſuppoſe, then, for a moment (the moſt untrue ſuppoſition is allowed in argument) that the ſeveral offices were filled by men of honour, ſenſe, ſpirit and integrity; then ſuppoſe the order iſſued—get money from the E— I—— C———; what would the conſequence be? One would remonſtrate upon the poſſible injuſtice, with which ſuch an act might be attended; that to take away another man's property without his conſent was little leſs than robbery.

A ſecond would talk of the impropriety of beginning at the wrong end; of expoſing the accounts

and

and correſpondence of ſo important a Company to the whole world, before any complaint was made, or charge brought againſt them: would propoſe it as a better method to treat with the Company firſt, and when finiſhed, bring that treaty where it ought to be brought, to be approved and ratified.

A third would pretend to ſay, that this method promoted ſtock-jobbing, by feeding the hopes and alarming the fears of the proprietors alternately; that it would have a very bad effect upon the credit of the nation, and tend to lower the value of all her funds, by ſuggeſting the thought to thoſe intereſted in her other funds, that though the I—d—a was the firſt ſtocked attached, yet that in which they were concerned might be the next.

A fourth (ſuppoſe a C———r of the E—q—r) would deſire a review of the whole ſcheme; would enquire into the end propoſed, and the means intended to attain it; would inſiſt upon time to weigh the greatneſs of one, and to examine the wiſdom and equity of the other; and if theſe were denied him, might conſider himſelf as affronted, the duty and rights of his office invaded, and might refuſe to be concerned, and perhaps reſign his office.

Good Lord! under ſuch circumſtances, how could public buſineſs go on? I appeal to all rational people, whether with ſuch men as I have deſcribed there be a poſſibility of acting? Whether with ſuch men at the helm, we ſhould have had ſome of the greateſt bleſſings which any nation ever enjoyed? With ſuch could the American ſtamp-act have paſſed, or could general warrants have iſſued? Could the exciſe have entered private houſes, or the laſt glorious and *adequate* peace have been made? Could we have been witneſſes to the noble attempt lately made (though unhappily by ſome curſed remains of connection, it proved abortive) for making State Neceſſity the law of the land, and for giving

us a privilege never enjoyed, or indeed thought of in any other country, of being *ſlaves for forty days, and freemen the reſt of the year?* Could any of theſe, or a thouſand other good things, have happened, or might we ever hope to ſee the ſame again, if *opinion*, which, by its proper name, is *obſtinacy*; *virtue*, which is *timidity*; *ſpirit* and *honour*, which are *pride* and *inſolence*; *knowledge*, which is *pedantry*; and *integrity*, which is *weakneſs*; ſhould ever again enter into any of the offices of the ſtate? How differently, how glorioufly and triumphantly the national buſineſs goes on, under the preſent patriotic miniſter, who employs none but men fit for their offices, may perhaps be the ſubject of another letter.

Dec. 24, 1766. TRANQUILLUS.

[*In January*, 1767, *it began to be rumoured, that another Change of Miniſters was to take place. Some paragraphs in the papers concerning this report occaſioned the following letter.*]

The new arrangement is ſettled; *the Earl of Northington retires*; *the Earl of Chatham*, as Miniſter, *takes the Preſidentſhip of the Council, which will reſtore that Board to its* conſtitutional *importance.*

I AM diverted from my intention of diſplaying to the public the noble manner in which the national buſineſs goes on, under our wiſe, ſpirited, and upright miniſter, by an article of news, which I lately read in your paper, and which I have taken for my motto. It filled my heart, as it muſt the heart of every real friend to the *true* and *antient* conſtitution of this country, with joy and exultation.

You inform us, that, amongſt other changes and removes, which are ſoon to take place, in the preſent fixed, ſteady, and conſiſtent adminiſtration, our illuſtrious miniſter is to be Preſident of the Council, in the room of the grave, virtuous, and

decent

decent nobleman, who has ſo long (now more than five months) and ſo worthily preſided at that moſt honourable board. Whilſt he retires to what he has long ſighed for, a calm philoſophic retreat, in which he may enjoy the retroſpect of a long, pure, and well-ſpent life; the preſent poſſeſſion of a large penſion, and the pleaſing proſpect of many lucrative reverſions; whilſt he thus, a real philoſopher, enjoys the preſent, looks back with pleaſure on the paſt, and with well-grounded hope, awaits the time to come; our great miniſter, *as Miniſter*, aſſumes his ſeat, and by preſiding at, reſtores that Board to its *juſt* and *conſtitutional* importance.

By reſtoring that Board to its antient, juſt, and conſtitutional authority, the Earl of Chatham will have performed every thing which reaſonable and thinking men expected from Mr. Pitt. He will then be, what all good men have long wiſhed him to be, the real, ſole, and abſolute miniſter of this country; he will then ſingly, and without controul, *guide* all meaſures, and be reſponſible to himſelf alone; indeed, who elſe can be a competent judge of his actions? No one ought to preſume to determine on his actions, who has not a ſoul like his, great, capacious, daring and irregular.

But as every one who enjoys with rapture this approaching revival of our *antient conſtitution*, may not have a clear and diſtinct view of all the bleſſings which muſt naturally and inevitably attend it, fancy that I ſhall perform a ſervice not ungrateful to our miniſter, and highly uſeful to the public, by explaining in a few words, what the *antient rights* and *powers* of that Board were; and by giving a few inſtances, how the application of theſe powers may now tend to render us, as they formerly did our anceſtors, a free, happy, and contented people.

This Board, then, had formerly a *legiſlative authority*, and governed the nation by ſeveral wiſe,

wholeſome and gentle laws, known by the name of *proclamations*. Theſe were conciſe, clear, and poſitive; free from the jargon which encumbers and perplexes our acts of parliament; the meaneſt capacity might underſtand them; full and efficacious for their purpoſes; the ſubtleſt lawyer could not evade them. With this *conſtitutional power* (ſometimes ſtrongly, ſometimes weakly exerted) the Council continued until an *innovation* was effected in the conſtitution; firſt, by a thing called the Declaration of Rights, and afterwards by an event (of which, out of tenderneſs to the prejudices of ſome well-meaning, but very weak and abſurd men, I forbear to ſpeak my mind) generally called the Revolution.

Convinced of the beauty and wiſdom of this ſyſtem, our great miniſter lately made an effort to revive and eſtabliſh it. The fullneſs of time not being then come, he unhappily failed in the attempt. Convinced and ſatisfied of the wiſdom of the deſign, the preſent legiſlative power (Kings, Lords and Commons) pardoned the crime of attempting it, and thereby ſaved his precious life, to compleat and accompliſh the great and generous plan.

This Board was alſo formerly a great court of juſtice; wiſe and equitable in its conſtitution; full and deciſive in its authority, and in its juriſdiction ample and extenſive; in it was alſo veſted the executive power. This great court was known by the name of the STAR CHAMBER. It continued in full and *conſtitutional* power and vigour, eſpecially under the auſpicious reigns of ſome of the *Stuarts*, until, advantage being taken of the diſtreſſes of one of thoſe Kings, it was aboliſhed by the uſurped and arbitrary power of an act of parliament.

It is very fortunate for us, that though our forefathers, envious of the happineſs of their children, deprived us of this glorious inheritance; yet it is too

frequently

frequently mentioned in our hiſtory; the equity of its proceedings too minutely deſcribed; the juſtice of its ſentences too often applauded; the efficacy of its puniſhments is ſo ſtriking and remarkable, that our patriot miniſter cannot have any difficulty in reſtoring it to the full powers and authorities which it exerted, and eſtabliſhing it on the exact plan on which it flouriſhed in the reign of Charles the Firſt.

Having thus ſhortly, but faithfully explained what is meant by Lord C———m being Preſident of, and thereby reſtoring the Privy Council to its *conſtitutional importance*, it remains that I ſhould demonſtrate its utility and ſuperiority to the preſent modes, by a few ſuppoſed, but very probable, caſes.

Suppoſe, then, that the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs ſhould, already daring, become ſo general, that the whole nation ſhould cry out, as it were with one voice, that they were deceived in the opinion they had formed, and the hopes they had entertained of their once idol, our great miniſter; that he attends to nothing but changing and ſhuffling men from place to place; that he has turned thoſe who were (until he was pleaſed to renounce them) his own, and always have been the friends of their country, out of employment, in order to make room for the tools and dependents of the Favourite; that his patriotiſm was a maſk, and his love of liberty a diſguiſe, to cover his ambition and propenſity to deſpotiſm; that he is ignorant of, and therefore unable to purſue the true intereſts of this country; that he is too proud to aſk advice, and too preſumptuous to receive aſſiſtance; that he is inſolent and ungrateful to his old, and mean and ſervile to his new connection:—ſuppoſe this horrid outrage to be committed, and then tell me, if our law, as it ſtands at preſent, preſcribes, or our courts of juſtice, in

their preſent weak and inſufficient condition, can inflict any puniſhment adequate to ſuch an heinous offence? It ought to be, and no doubt it will, in due time, be declared *high treaſon*.

How is this to be done by the tedious forms of an act of parliament paſſing through both Houſes, ſubject to the debate and cavil of factious men, enemies to good order and good government, and moſt notoriouſly diſaffected to the power of our moſt excellent miniſter. Nay, poſſibly, ſo juſt and neceſſary a meaſure might totally miſcarry, by the force of ſome yet unbroken and proud connection.

But when the new conſtitution is ſettled, or I ſhould rather ſay, when the old one is reſtored, the Preſident gives the order to the Council, the Council to the Clerks, the Clerks to the Printer; out comes a proclamation, declaring it to be high treaſon, to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of L—d C———m; and there at once you have an end of murmuring, repining, and diſcontent, throughout the kingdom for ever; all will be mirth, jollity, and good humour.

Another inſtance: Suppoſe our miniſter, out of his great reſpect for, and known attachment to the Royal Houſe of Pruſſia, ſhould think fit to ſettle on that great and terrible monarch, a ſubſidy of a million, or thereabouts; ſuppoſe, then, that the E. I. C———y had no more left to be ſqueezed out of, how is the money to be had? From parliament—This is worſe than the other caſe; they have had enough of that already: No, no—the Council meet; the proclamation iſſues; the money is levied, as *ſhip money* was; it is paid into the hands of the Pruſſian miniſter, without deducting the pay-maſter's fees; and there you have ſecured the protection of a powerful Prince for this poor, weak, and defenceleſs kingdom.

I ſhould

I ſhould tire my readers, were I to go on, with all the inſtances which occur to me, by which the preference due to this mode of legiſlation might be made clear and plain. Why ſhould I mention the readineſs with which embargoes might be laid, and taken off again upon reaſonable compoſition; the expedition with which a proclamation, for enlarging the power of the crown, might be publiſhed; how eaſily ſtate neceſſity might be declared the law of the land, or the nation ordered to obſerve a political Lent of forty days ſtrict abſtinence from liberty? The thing ſpeaks for itſelf; and I dare ſay, that there is not a man in the kingdom who reads this, but is already convinced. You muſt obſerve though, that I would not adviſe the total diſuſe of parliaments. Septennial drunkenneſs may keep the people in good humour, and the parliament may be kept on, as the convocation is, to vote a dutiful addreſs every ſeventh year, and then be prorogued.

The excellence of this Board, as a Court of Juſtice, or Star Chamber, and its ſuperiority over all other courts, is ſo ſelf-evident, that I ſhall give you but one inſtance to prove it.

You, Sir, print a paper, which, to the miniſter and his admirers, appears to reflect on his wiſdom, integrity, and ability. According to the preſent vexatious modes, you are taken before a Juſtice of Peace, and there examined; then you are put to the trouble of getting bail for your appearance; you then employ an attorney, and with him comes a long bill of coſt; you retain lawyers, and to them you muſt pay large fees; a bill muſt, after all this, be found by a grand jury, before you can be tried by a petit jury; theſe perceiving your innocence, acquit you, after ſuch a train of plague, torment, delay, and expence. How will this be, when the Council Board is reſtored to its *conſtitutional power*

as a Court of Juſtice, or Star Chamber?—Thus it is —the miniſter is offended, you are taken up, the affair is over in a trice, you are fined, impriſoned, whipped, pillored, noſe-ſlit, tongue-bored, and branded in the forehead, in a ſummary way, without loſs of time or hindrance of buſineſs. I congratulate you heartily on your approaching happineſs.

TRANQUILLUS.

Anſwer to the preceeding letter.

HAVING lately had a tete-a-tete converſation with a member of the P——— C———, he was pleaſed to inform me, with great concern, that a new regulation was taking place in all the departments of government. That his M——— was ſo attached to Lord C——— for his vigorous endeavours to promote the meaſures of Lord B———, that he was determined to make him P———t of the C———l and Prime Miniſter, with an authority ſo abſolute, as to give directions in every point, though all beſides himſelf and Lord B——— ſhould diſſent; and farther, it is concluded, that this nation cannot be properly governed without a Star-Chamber Court as formerly, whereinm oney is to be raiſed, puniſhments inflicted on every writer in the oppoſition; and all things needful to ſupport the honour, authority and emolument of Lord B——— and Lord C——— are to be determined in a ſummary way. The king of P——— is to have a penſion of one million, and all whom Lord B——— and Lord C——— approve of are to be rewarded with penſions, places, or other advantages, and none others. O what times are coming! what dreadful ſcenes are upon the carpet! who will live in old England when this great monſter is made abſolute monarch?—Much more might be ſaid on this occaſion, but I forbear, and comfort myſelf with the hopes, that the nation will take the alarm, and

give

give the S———n no reſt till he hath caſt Lord C——— for ever out of his preſence.

Thus a writer, who makes no ſcruple of advancing the moſt abſolute falſhoods, may ring the changes from week to week, by only taking care that one of them exceed the other in magnitude, juſt to ſuch a degree as will make a tolerable harmony. I appeal to the public, whether Lord C—'s enemies do not write as poſitively of his abominable conduct, as if they had it from a member of the P——— C———? And let any ſenſible man declare to me whether he can find any ſolid conviction from arguments ſupported by no chimerical a baſis? Men may affirm without truth, reaſon without conſcience, and throw dirt enough without remorſe; yet an honeſt man will be an honeſt man in the ſight of God and common ſenſe, till by ſome FACT, he PROVES HIMSELF a V———!

By the above fiction, I hope it will appear, that I could invent a plauſible lie to be-praiſe or diſpraiſe any man I ſhould think proper; but what a world muſt we live in, if truth ſhould be entirely baniſhed? And I appeal to conſcience, that whoever tells, and argues from, a deliberate falſhood to aſperſe his greateſt enemy, is as much aſhamed of his conduct in the ſight of God, as he would be in the ſight of man, was he publicly known. That unhappy maſter of fiction, *Anti-Sejanus*, has too baſely lead the way for ingenuity, without conſcience, to diſplay itſelf for ſome ſiniſter end. Beware, my country, of theſe artful enemies to virtue; and till they can poſitively point out a fact, directed immediately by Lord C———, that is infamous in itſelf, and a diſgrace to morality, let us pay no credit to their malevolence, however elegantly expreſſed. In ſhort, from the whole conduct of Mr. P———, I think no man was ever more worthy of our eſteem and veneration; and I muſt believe him to be the

ſame man in Lord C———, till by ſome notorious alteration of principles and conduct, he is guilty of ſuch tranſactions as muſt convince me to the contrary.

TRANQUILIUS.

Ironical Defence of the Earl of Ch—m.

ALTHOUGH I am engaged in the cauſe of our great miniſter, yet hope that the public does me the juſtice to perceive how little I am ſwayed by partiality, how entirely I am free from prejudice. I have already very openly, and with a becoming boldneſs, pointed out one groſs defect in the conſtruction of the preſent political fabric. I have avowed my diſlike of one man, who formerly made a part of that proud connection, which it is the glory of our great miniſter to have broken, or at leaſt to have done his beſt to break in pieces. It is in vain that we are aſſured that there is no power delegated to him, and no confidence repoſed in him. He is an eye-ſore to all our friends, and until he is removed I ſhall not ceaſe to complain, and to acknowledge to the whole world, that all is not right.

I ſuppoſe that my reputation for candour, (a reputation very ſeldom the lot of a political writer) will be eſtabliſhed beyond the power of envy or malice, when I confeſs to the public, that there is *one* fault more, and that of a very alarming nature, which muſt alſo be corrected, before we can arrive at that perfection which is our aim, and which the nation expects from us. It is want of concert amongſt ourſelves.

To this it will be anſwered, and with no ſmall appearance of plauſibility, that concert amongſt us is not neceſſary; that it is ſufficient that each individual ſhould obey the orders he receives, without looking to the right or left, to ſee what his fellow-ſervants are about—that the very intention of acting in concert, is apt to beget reaſoning, and breed

debate,

debate, two of the worſt qualities ever known in ſervants, and ſufficient to confound the ſchemes, and defeat the intentions, of the wiſeſt and moſt abſolute maſter that ever lived.

If this reaſoning be confined to the inferior executive parts—to the mere office-clerks of adminiſtration—ſuch as firſt L——d of the T———y, S——t——s of S——t, and C———r of the E———r, I allow its force and validity. Indeed every day's experience abundantly juſtifies it; for if concert among ſuch as theſe were neceſſary, how could the national buſineſs go on, in the orderly, decent, conſiſtent, and effectual manner in which it has proceeded, ever ſince L——d Ch———m has had the reins (and the *whip* too) of goverment committed into his hands. If concert were neceſſary, we ſhould find ſome two of thoſe, who ſit on a certain bench, of the ſame diſpoſition, character, and deſign. They would not then appear like lawyers *feed* in a hurry in court, without briefs, and truſting for the defence of their client to what ſcraps of knowledge they may chance to pick up from their adverſaries arguments. What can diſplay at once their abilities and their obedience more fully, than a judicious defence of a ſyſtem, which they do not even pretend to underſtand?

Want of communication and concert, would, in theſe caſes, I confeſs, afford no matter of complaint. The want of concert, of which I complain, is of a more alarming nature: A want of concert amongſt us political writers, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſatisfy the nation of the wiſdom, integrity, and ability of the miniſter. If we do not *write* in concert, all is loſt.

You muſt perceive, Sir, that I am induced to make theſe reflections, by ſome late productions of my fellow labourer, and almoſt nameſake, who ſigns himſelf *Tranquilius*. This worthy gentleman, not being acquainted with the taſk aſſigned me, nor

inſtructed

inſtructed in the manner in which I have been ordered to perform it, miſtakes me for an enemy, and, as ſuch, endeavours to leſſen my credit with the public. Now, I am equally ignorant of the particular walk aſſigned to him, and yet I can plainly ſee, by his ſtyle and manner, that wit, humour and raillery, are the weapons which he is ordered to uſe for the annoyance of our foes. Ought not he, in like manner to perceive, that the ſhield of ſolid and impenetrable argument, cloſe reaſoning, and ſtrong judgment, is lifted high upon my arm for the common defence?

I did not wonder that he ſhould aſſure the public, much leſs did I blame him for it, that he and I were not the ſame perſon. The rights of authors are not, in general, very valuable. Their liberty is but precarious, their property (God knows) far from *ineſtimable*. But every author has certainly a right to his own *identity*. This I would have ſacred in all common caſes of ſtate neceſſity: no *proclamation* ſhould affect it—no *enquiry* ſhake it. It will, I dare ſay, be inviolable until the E. I. C——y, the B——k, and other funds, the landed and trading intereſt are ſqueezed until they can yield no more. And this will, I hope, make *Tranquilius* eaſy on this head.

Now I muſt beg of my friend *Tranquilius* to conſider what incredible miſchief he may do, though with the beſt intentions in the world, ſhould he miſtake the meaning of other gentlemen, as he has done mine. The writer who is charged with the care of inſerting proper articles of intelligence, and apprizing the public in due time of L—d Ch——m's great and extenſive ſchemes, has lately told us, "that orders are iſſued by that great miniſter, for improving America to its utmoſt value." A deſign worthy of him who formed it, and of too great conſequence to leave the means, as he does

in

in other caſes, to his underlings and drudges. He has condeſcended to point them out himſelf, and they too are worthy of him, and of him alone; as I will be bold to affirm, that they would not have entered the head of any other ſtateſman who lived before him, who now lives, or who ſhall live hereafter. They are ſhort, clear, effectual, plauſible in theory, and eaſy in practice.

He has reſolved that America ſhall be improved to its full value; that is the deſign; the *quomodo* follows. "He has *ordered* both the *Floridas* and the mild region of *Labrador* to be cleared, cultivated, and (as our panegyriſt has well expreſſed it) *fully* peopled."

——*Nimium vobis romana propago*
Viſa potens ſuperit!——

What a miniſter! who can at once exterminate gloomy foreſts, and cover a country with ſmiling harveſts—who can make the howling deſart bloſſom like a roſe—who can cultivate, plant, build, and even people—all by his *creative fiat*, without the uncertain, ſlow, progreſſive methods of vulgar ſtateſmen and lawgivers!

But whilſt we are, from the higheſt to the loweſt, exulting in the wiſdom and abilities of our glorious miniſter—whilſt L——d C———m is ſecuring reverſions in that happy country, and weaving, for their uſe, his favourite web of linſey-wooſey goverment (three threads of licentiouſneſs and one of ſervitude)—whilſt L——d N———— is buried (in his hours of ſobriety) in deviſing ſchemes for fixing the morals of, and promoting piety and virtue in that infant and yet mature colony—whilſt C———— T———— is flouriſhing a ſpeech upon that wiſdom which took away *ſterility* from *barrenneſs* and gave *population* to *deſolation*—whilſt our great miniſter himſelf is meditating a conſiſtent *talk*, to prove to the H———— of L———— that the peace

which

which gave us that amazing country, was *great* was *glorious*, was *adequate*; and will be *firm*, *ſecure*, and *permanent*—If, in the midſt of theſe delightful reveries, *Tranquilius* ſhould interfere, and with his accuſtomed humour and pleaſantry, *gravely* aſſure us that it was all an irony, intended to aſperſe the miniſter and ridicule his ſchemes, to interrupt his deſigns, and bring his adminiſtration into contempt—This harlequin, witty indeed, but miſchievous, would thus, by a ſlap of his wooden ſword, conver tthis beautiful Paradice into an hideous deſart, and leave nothing to our offended eyes, but a dreary turf-bog, and perhaps — a wicked magician.

TRANQUILLUS.

To the Earl of Ch——m, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

WHILE the firſt of the Nobility and the greateſt officers of the ſtate find it matter of favour and difficulty to be permitted to approach your perſon, it may be thought preſumptuous in a man of my humble ſtation to hope for the honour of one moment of your attention. But I am encouraged to addreſs myſelf to you by that partial condeſcention, with which you have always inclined your ear to the honourable applauſe, and earneſt good wiſhes of our collective body. My Lord, we are ſenſible of your partiality to us, and, in return, you may depend upon our unſhaken loyalty and adherence. My friends have ſo long been unanimous in aſſuring me that I am the laſt of the human ſpecies, that I begin to ſubſcribe to their opinion; and the more willingly, ſince I ſtill have the merit of belonging to a rank of people, who have upon all occaſions expreſſed a ſingular veneration for your Lordſhip's eminent virtues. Beſides this, I forſee with exultation, that when nothing

thing ſhall be left of you and me but the odour of our memories, the title of *ultimus Romanorum* will be applied in common to us both. Poſterity may even have their doubts which of us beſt deſerves it. Your Lordſhip may be ſatisfied that we heard with rapture of your return to power, when we ſaw who the people were to whom you imparted all your confidence, and whom you thought qualified for the firſt employments of the ſtate; there was not one of us who did not feel himſelf fired with the laudable ambition of ſerving our country, and your Lordſhip upon the ſame terms. We plainly perceived that it was indifferent to you by whom the buſineſs of the nation was performed —that you required no talent but implicit ſubmiſſion—and that you had equitably thrown the gates of preferment wide open to the meaneſt of mankind. We do not pretend to form an adequate judgment of thoſe great, important projects, by which you were expected to reſtore vigour to government, and union to the people. But, as far as we are capable of any opinion concerning the meaſures you have already taken, I may venture to aſſert there is not one of us, who would not have acted preciſely as you have done. The firſt leading meaſure of your adminiſtration, as I am informed, was a direct attack upon the laws of the land, and on the liberty of the ſubject; your ſecond, a no leſs direct invaſion of their property. Now my Lord, I really know as little of the law as you do, and only wiſh that you had entirely omitted that idle plea of neceſſity. It would have ſuited your purpoſes, and have become your character much better, if, in concurrence with your two learned friends, you had reſted the proclamation upon that great fundamental law of the conſtitution (as tranſmitted to us by the Normans) that it is the King's prerogative to ſubvert the

whole

whole body of the laws, whenever he ſhall think it for the good of his people, and that the Privy Council are the only proper judges of the occaſion. As to my liberty, it is worth ſo little, that I have frequently riſqued it for the value of a ſilk handkerchief; and for my property, if I were to make you excluſive heir to it to-morrow, it would hardly pay the expence of letters of adminiſtration. With regard to charters, I entirely agree with your Lordſhip, that they are of no other uſe in this country, than ſo far as they furniſh great Miniſters with a pretence of extorting money from the proprietors. But there are other charters equally entitled to your patriotic care and inſpection. Proceed, my Lord, as you have begun, and you need not deſpair of ſeeing the Great Charter itſelf fall before you. You have the whole unrepreſented part of the nation of your ſide, and if you ſhould want money, you cannot apply to a ſet of people more ready than we are, to put our hands into the pockets of other folks, eſpecially ſince your generous patronage of North America has ſecured us from repriſals.

Conſidering the ſhortneſs of your adminiſtration, it muſt be confeſſed that you have done more than even your enemies expected from you: but we, who are your friends, expect a great deal more. We take for granted, that in this long receſs of parliament, you are employed in forming ſome farther projects for the good of your country, of a nature conformable to what you have already done. We would not, however, debar you from the innocent relaxation of Chriſtmas gambols; for, if I am well informed, you had once a remarkable turn for croſs purpoſes, and are now no mean proficient in queſtions and commands.

At the meeting of parliament it is not to be doubted that you will have ſomething very conſiderable

derable to propoſe. The eternal ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act, would make a noble addition to your fame, and we are ready to give it up without reluctance. To ſay the truth, I cannot recollect that I, or any of our friends, ever derived the ſmalleſt benefit from it; owing to ſome unaccountable difficulties which we always met with in procuring bail. I would not recommend a ſpunge to you, for that might raiſe the value of land, which it is your intereſt, as a Miniſter, as it has always been your ſtudy, to lower as much as poſſible; but then a perpetual parliament might anſwer all your purpoſe: By introducing a majority of us, your friends, into it, we ſhould, in a ſhort time, repreſent nobody but ourſelves—tax every body but ourſelves—and make your Lordſhip's will and pleaſure the only law not to be diſpenſed with by the Crown. In this view, the firſt ſtep which will be neceſſary for you to take, is to advance ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters among us to conſiderable employments. Such a choice will give you credit in the eyes of the world, and bind the party to you for ever. At the Board of Trade, for inſtance, I think I could preſide with equal reputation to myſelf, and benefit to the public. I know ſomething in the way of traffic, having more than once bartered my honeſty for ſomething above its value; and a few years ago I was very near keeping an alehouſe at Briſtol, which convinced me of the neceſſity of a general Exciſe. But, perhaps, you may think me rather better qualified for a Chancellor of the Exchequer; I confeſs I have frequently raiſed money by ways and means, which the preſent Chancellor probably never thought of until he received ſome new rays of light from your Lordſhip; and as it is your paſſion to ſeek for merit in the dirt, I flatter myſelf you will not ſuffer talents ſuch as mine to be buried in obſcurity.

After all, my dear friend, I will confeſs to you the weakneſs of my heart; I have a taſte for retirement, which I had rather indulge in than enjoy the higheſt office in your gift, provided you would furniſh me with a ſufficient excuſe for doing ſo. A Vice-Treaſurerſhip of Ireland would ſuit me exactly. My features are not very diſtant from human, and I have no doubt that in a few months I ſhould acquire the airs and manners of a gentleman. You would find me far from a uſeleſs Member in a Great Aſſembly, for I may ſay without vanity, that even our friend the Alderman cannot bear a drubbing better than I can.

As I have now ſettled a correſpondence with you, you may now depend upon hearing from me frequently. I remain your honour's truſty

BUCKHORSE.

Prorſus diſſolutum offendi navigium, vel pitius diſſipatum, nihil conſilio, nihil ratione, nihil ordine.

Cicero ad Atticum 15. 13.

To the Earl of Ch——m, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I AM ſatisfied that nothing but the gout in both hands could have prevented your anſwering my laſt letter, for you certainly were not inſenſible of the advantage of cultivating a friendſhip ſo honourable as mine. *Laudari a laudato viro* conveys a pleaſure which, I believe, you have not been much acquainted with, and which you ſhould not appear to undervalue. This gout, my Lord, is really a very convenient diſorder; according as you find yourſelf diſpoſed, it either encreaſes the merit of taking a ſhare in public buſineſs, or gives you a very reaſonable excuſe for declining it. Thus, whether you think proper to let others ruin the nation, or to ſave it yourſelf, you may, without oſtentation,

oſtentation, be indolent with leſs reproach, or active with more credit, than any other man in the nation.

——————" *The ſkilful mind*
" *Turns all occurrence to its own advantage.*"

Your diſeaſes have been your beſt advocates; nor hath all your pliancy of tongue been of half ſo much real ſervice to you, as the ſilent eloquence of a crutch and flannels. But, my Lord, it is poſſible you may not be duly informed of the ſtate of things in this part of the world. Your government is all in confuſion; and it ſeems that, like other monarchs, you have not a ſingle friend honeſt and bold enough to hazard telling you an unpleaſing truth. This is the common fate of greatneſs. It is the misfortune or privilege of high office to deſert or be deſerted; and you have had your experience both ways. In theſe calamitous circumſtances, I look upon it as the duty of a ſincere, diſintereſted friendſhip like mine, to endeavour to open your eyes, to let you know what paſſes, and to haſten your return to your adminiſtration; which, without your immediate preſence, will inevitably fall to ruin. I conſider your Lordſhip as an eminent maſter builder, who hath voluntarily undertaken to repair on old ſhattered houſe, but who, inſtead of waiting to overſee the work, hath contented himſelf with employing a parcel of day labourers, to whom he has left certain directions to be obſerved, while he enjoys himſelf in the country. The moment he turns his back, they of courſe begin to quarrel. The maſon calls for bricks and mortar, the labourer brings him ſand and ſtraw. One man repairs, while another pulls down; they revile each other; all diſcipline and obedience is at an end; or if any two agree, it is only to quit the work and retire to an alehouſe, where they drink confuſion to the

proprietor, to the undertaker, and to the whole buſineſs. No longer awed by the perſonal terror of their maſter's preſence, the very fellows, who never preſumed to have an opinion before, now ſet up for judges of right and wrong; pretend that they do not value their wages, unleſs the work be carried on to their mind, and ſome of them already begin to think of ſecuring a better ſtipend elſewhere. This, my Lord, is but too faithful a picture of your adminiſtration. The very men from whom, conſidering their former ſervility, you had a right to expect implicit ſubmiſſion, now preſume to ſet your doctrines and commands at defiance. They advance their own, and interpret your's as they think proper.

This I—— buſineſs, I fear, will not be concluded to your ſatisfaction. The —y, but a few days ago, had nearly been d———d. One ſaid he did not know; another confeſſed he could not tell; a third acknowledged he knew ſomething, but could not tell at that time; and what is worſt of all, your *homme d'affaires* had an aſſurance to declare, that all your American doctrines were falſe and abſurd; and ſwore, that he was determined to tax that country in ſpite of your teeth, and that they muſt and ſhould ſubmit.—If you have no regard for Great-Britain, at leaſt return in time to ſave your adopted America. If, at ſo critical a moment, you ſhould neglect the intereſt of your new ſubjects, it is poſſible they may forget their vowed allegiance to you. They may, perhaps, be able to find among themſelves, ſome leader of abilities and integrity equal to their own, who will adopt your principles, and carry them to the point they naturally tend to, an independant dominion for himſelf; nay, if the lateſt advices may be depended on, ſuch a project is already in agitation, and, perhaps, the execution of it may be at no

great

great diſtance; and, I doubt, whether your Lordſhip will be either able or willing to ſend over ſuch an additional force, as hath been demanded by a great officer, in his laſt letters, as the only poſſible method of preventing the total defection of that empire.

You ſee, my Lord, that, by your abſence, you are hazarding the fruits of all your virtues and all your patriotiſm: your declared enemies acquire new ſpirits and vigour, while your ſecret enemies, who have enliſted under your ſtandard, diſagree with one another, deſert your cauſe, and turn your perſon and your meaſures into ridicule. But theſe are diſorders which your preſence would infallibly remove: it would reſtore as much union among your vaſſals, as can be effected by the common bond of fear; and that I believe is as much as you would ever deſire to ſee among them. The —— Company, who are encouraged by the heſitation and diffidence of your manager [for the poor man has his doubts] would never dare to diſpute your abſolute commands.—Some idea, however diſtant, of the number and diſpoſition of the forces would be communicated to the commander in chief;—and as to America, if you found it abſolutely neceſſary to relinquiſh your influence there, in order to maintain it here, you might ſend over a reinforcement of troops under the command of that ſincere and candid young Nobleman, with whom you have formed a laſting friendſhip, upon principles that do equal honour to you both. This youth has been converſant in military achievements, as well as in political intrigue, and I doubt not but you agree with himſelf in thinking, that he is at leaſt as well qualified for the field as for the cabinet.

But if you ſhould defer your return, the conſequence may be fatal. Your gracious ——— will

ſuſpect that you are betraying him; your vaſſals will deſert to the enemy; your loyal America will be in declared r——; and I, my Lord, ſhall be obliged to conſult my reputation, and leave you to your own guidance. BUCKHORSE.

To ISAAC BUCKHORSE, *Eſq*;

Intantis noſtris peccatis, tantiſque noſtrorum injuriis, nihil eſt quod aut facere dignum nobis, aut ſimulare poſſim.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOU do me but juſtice in believing that I am proud of your friendſhip, and value your correſpondence as I ought. I am the more ſenſible of the expreſſions of your regard, as they have an appearance of warmth and ſincerity, to which I have not been much accuſtomed of late. There is no man, to whoſe opinion, in matters of government, I pay a greater difference than to your's, nor any ſet of people whoſe approbation I am more ambitious of than of you and your friends. I think it but juſt that the multitude of good ſubjects, who have nobody to ſpeak for them, ſhould be allowed to ſpeak for themſelves; and I have always faithfully collected their opinions from the number of voices in the different ſtreets of the metropolis. In return, your attachment to my ſervice has been uniformly maintained, while people, who pretended to a greater ſhare of diſcernment, were wavering in their opinions about me, or deſerted my cauſe. The voice of the multitude, like a ſwelling ſtream, covered all my actions, concealed the falſe, unequal bottom of the channel it flowed in, and rapidly carried away all reaſon and argument before it. Your aſſiſtance was of conſiderable uſe to me in times of greater proſperity, but at this ſeaſon it is become eſſential. My neareſt relations are my bittereſt enemies, though I would gladly have prevented their

enmity

enmity by the force of blood. My new-made friends could never have become ſo without ſuch treachery to a former patron, as makes it impoſſible for me to confide in their ſincerity ;—my influence is weakened in the Cabinet ; the tools of my power rebel againſt it ; the colonies are in arms ; and the public is evidently diſſatisfied with my whole government. If you, my dear Buckhorſe, and your adherents, ſhould deſert me, it would be in vain for me to return to town. I ſhould ſoon be obliged to quit it with diſgrace. The truth is, the ferment was beginning before I left London. I found I had undertaken too much, and carried things with too high a hand. I determined, therefore, to withdraw myſelf from the ſcene of confuſion, and wait either until I might be recalled with ſupplications, or until things were got into ſuch perplexity and diſtreſs as might juſtify my not returning at all.

But ſince I find myſelf diſappointed in the hope of being ſent for, and cannot yet determine to relinguiſh all pretenſions to power and profit, I have but one choice left—to return and trample upon the reptiles who have given themſelves airs in my abſence ; for I am convinced there is not one of them who has courage enough to oppoſe me in perſon. Even the miſerable drudge, who has dared to indulge the licentiouſneſs of his tongue [for I know he meant nothing] about my loyal Americans, will tremble when he ſees me. It is not for a ſoul like his to meet the countenance of offended majeſty. This is a fellow, whom I intend to rule with a coercive rod of iron. Whatever he may think, I ſhall *rob him of his inconſtancy, and give uniformity to his politics*, whether he will or no ; *nec vincet amentia leviſſimi hominis noſtram prudentiam.* As to the reſt of the pack, you muſt be ſenſible I never could expect any thing from them, except ſubmiſſion. I knew they wanted every other qua-

lification; if I obſerve them fail in that article, you may depend upon my diſcharging them immediately.

Since I have now begun to write to you, I ſhall take this opportunity to explain ſome parts of my conduct, in which you have not been well informed. Firſt then, with regard to the proclamation, I am to tell you that, in whatever manner I might have expreſſed myſelf, I always knew it was illegal and unconſtitutional, and ſhould have been contented to keep that point undecided, in order to leave the precedent open to me, for future purpoſes. But I had unfortunately employed two bull-dogs, who, the moment they heard me halloo, ſhut their eyes, ran on fiercely, without care or diſcretion, and daſhed their heads againſt a ſolid wall. This circumſtance, however, does not diſpleaſe me; for the more theſe tools make themſelves odious and contemptible, the more dependent they muſt be of courſe upon my favour, and the leſs ſcrupulous in obeying me. As to the India buſineſs, I will confeſs to you truly, if not honeſtly, that when that ſcheme came into my mind, it was never attended with any ideas of difficulty, or even a queſtion about right or wrong, law or equity. I meant no more than to gratify the landed, by laying a tax upon the mercantile intereſt, no matter how partial or how unjuſt. But as in reality I care as little for one as the other, if the merchants will be patient but for a year or two, they may depend upon having their revenge. In the mean time, as I find that my agent has trifled, in his uſual ſtile, in the execution of my poſitive orders, as ſoon as I arrive in town, I ſhall order the Court of Directors to attend me, and ſettle this affair at once in a ſummary way, by proclamation, perhaps, or an order of council.

With regard to America, whatever my doctrines may ſeem to import, you may be aſſured that I have

no

no thoughts of acquiring an independent dominion for the reſt of my life in that country ;—my age alone ſecures me from a ſuſpicion of that nature, beſides that I have a much better chance for abſolute power at home. No, my dear friend, if ever I ſee the colonies, it will be an involuntary viſit, and I hope but for a limited time. As to the poor boy, whom you recommend to command the reinforcement for North America, I really think he would be full as well employed as he is at preſent.

You have undoubtedly heard of the unparalleled inſolence of the Britiſh factories in Portugal. Theſe merchants think that their dirty intereſts are of national importance, and would fain embroil me with a powerful and reſpectable Court in ſupport of them. But there is a law againſt ſturdy beggars, which I am determined not to ſuſpend. Beſides, that Sarvallio is my friend. I admire his principles, and ſhall ſteadily imitate his conduct. Such men as we are, appear but ſeldom. Providence evidently intended us for extraordinary purpoſes, the execution of which whole nations will remember.

I confeſs I was a little low-ſpirited when I began this letter: the accounts I continually received of the inſolent and profligate behaviour of my ſervants in London had given me the vapours; but writing as well as talking revives my ſpirits; and I can now even laugh at the terror and confuſion, with which theſe fellows will receive their liege Lord. Already they look up, and ſee me deſcending like a bird of prey among them. Such they ſhall find me, and woe be to the firſt of them that cackles in my preſence. As to you, my dear friend, if it be poſſible for me to form a diſintereſted friendſhip, it ſhall be with you. There is an uncommon ſympathy between us, which convinces me, that in ſimilar ſituations our conduct would have been the ſame. Your occupation has been a link, mine a firebrand.

Blows

Blows have but little effect upon your countenance; ſhame never embarraſſed mine. I will not carry the compariſon farther; but, to tell you the truth, my mind miſgives me that our exits will not be very unlike. Accept my thanks for all your kind friendſhip, and believe me, dear Iſaac, faithfully your's, C———.

To the EARL *of* CH——M, *&c. &c.*

Nunc contrà plerique ad honores a dipiſcendos et ad rempublicam gerendam nudi veniunt atque inermes, nullâ cognitione rerum nullâ ſcientiâ ornati.

MY DEAR LORD,

I SHOULD not have failed to acknowledge the great honour done me by your ——'s letter, if I had not expected, before this, to have ſeen you in town: but ſince, for reaſons beſt known to yourſelf, you have made ——— the ſeat of empire, I think I cannot in decency avoid adding one courier to the number that have already waited at the levee.—*Donec Bythyno lebeat vigilare* TYRANNO. It is the more incumbent upon me to write to you, becauſe I really have not the confidence, I mean a ſecurity of face ſufficient to ſpeak in your defence. Friends and Foes, Miniſtry and Oppoſition, ſeem to agree in one point at leaſt;—to treat you and all your political principles with contempt and deriſion. The torrent is ſo ſtrong, that I dare not ſet even a face ſuch as mine againſt it. I ſquint and ſtand aghaſt at what I hear; but when I attempt to ſpeak, find myſelf jaw-locked. This is the caſe with many others, who have not half my natural modeſty, and who are at leaſt as much obliged to you as I am. They affect to admire your abilities in groſs, but cannot prevail upon themſelves to allow you a ſingle good quality, or even a rational way of thinking, when they come to particulars.

You

You have been long enough the idol of their proſtration, and, like other falſe Gods, muſt expect to be worſhipped or deſerted, to receive incenſe or malediction, according as the hopes or fears of your votaries ſhall lead them to abide by their preſent, or to wander after a new ſuperſtition. But whereas other idolaters are themſelves the makers of the images they worſhip, you had a better title to adoration. You had a right to expect gratitude from the c———s of your hand, if indeed any thing like a virtue had entered into the compoſition of ſuch c———s. There lay your great original miſtake; and truly I bluſh for your want of ſagacity. To be candid, my dear ——, what were your hopes, either in view to the public or yourſelf, when you filled the firſt offices of the —— with their preſent poſſeſſors? Omitting all idea of abilities, which I preſume you never had in contemplation, where was the neceſſity of running into the other extreme? To employ men of overbearing talents, or to give them any ſhare of power, might indeed be liable to jealouſy and apprehenſion; but I believe your ——— is the firſt politician who ever preferred youth and ignorance for its own ſake, or who thought that boys ſhould be advanced according to their own preſumption, or that elderly gentlemen ſhould be truſted in proportion to their want of capacity and experience: But if in reality you meant no more than ſo much wood and wire, at leaſt come near enough to the ſcene to make your figures perform their parts with ſome degree of decency, and not entirely diſgrace the hand by which they are ſuppoſed to be ſet in motion—What an army of —— have you collected together! excepting one ſingle man, whom you were obliged to preſs into the ſervice (and who accordingly does his buſineſs with negligence and ill-humour) is it not entirely made up of raw recruits, of deſerters from another

party,

party, or of ——— who have been flogged out of different corps for ——— or petty larceny. I know them well, my ———, they are for the moſt part people who enliſt under any ſtandard, receive the bounty from any hand that offers, and deſert with it in their pockets. That ſuch ſhould be their conduct and principles is by no means wonderful; but that they ſhould have the aſſurance to make public declarations of a determined defection from your cauſe, while they receive your ſtipend, argues a total neglect of order and diſcipline. It makes ſome people ſupect, that you have neither talents to command, nor power to puniſh, at leaſt at a diſtance; and if things go on as they have done, you need not doubt but that even the meaneſt of your ſlaves will hold themſelves emancipated from your ſervice, and act for themſelves. The Saturnalia are revived, and Emancipation is the word, which they eccho from one to the other for their mutual encouragement, as the moſt expreſſive of the bondage they were lately ſubject to. Inſtead of attending to the buſineſs of their maſter, theſe worthy gentlemen talk of nothing but themſelves, and the independance of their ſituation. One man ſays, he has an opinion of his own; another ſays, he has *no opinion* at all; but the great pride of them all ſeem to be, that they are not afraid of being flogged by your ———. You may, perhaps, imagine, that, like the clocks of Monſieur Comus, the ſympathetic hand of government will, at any diſtance, follow the direction you ſhall think proper to give it; but I ſuſpect that, if you continue at ———, you will find this machine to be out of the reach of your attraction; and that if your body be not ſoon depoſited nearer to us, your hand will have loſt its magnetic virtue. Let me warn you againſt another danger, which I believe you dread more than any other in this world or the next. The man

you

you hate, the man you fear, is ſtill indefatigable, and but too ſucceſsful, in counteracting your tricks, and expoſing them to the world. Between friends, he has already made a multitude of converts, and ſatisfied many, who were once your greateſt admirers, that you are no better than a common j——r. Whether it be matter of account, or of trade, or of revenue, I am aſhamed to tell you, that there is not one of us dares contradict him; now and then, indeed, a young cur will bark, but to ſuch as thoſe he does not even deign to reply. To ſay the truth, the turn of affairs in America, ſo different from what might reaſonably have been expected, has furniſhed him with too much matter of triumph, eſpecially as the people, whom you moſt relied upon for the defence of your doctrines, have entirely given up the point to him; and, I believe in my conſcience, that if you do not exert yourſelf in time to oppoſe it, he and his aſſociate, the ———r of the ———r, will at laſt reduce your friends, the Americans, to obedience. This at leaſt ſeems to be their deſign; but I flatter myſelf you will be able to throw impediments enough in their way, as you muſt be ſenſible that the ſucceſs of ſuch a project might be fatal to your own power, which is the true palladium of the independance and ſovereignty of Great Britain. At all events you may depend upon your faithful rabble. We have as little ſhare in making the laws, and as little inclination to ſubmit to them, as your Americans.

I forgot to mention to you, that the infirmity, which I have been ſubject to from my birth, is now become an epidemical diſorder. From a certain diſtraction, or duplicity of viſion, there is not one of us, who does not ſquint moſt obliquely; ſo that while our faces ſeem turned towards your ———, our real views have a very different direction.

Whatever

Whatever your exit may be, I ſhall be proud to ſhare it with you.

BUCKHORSE.

To ISAAC BUCKHORSE, *Eſq*;

MY DEAR BUCKHORSE,

THOUGH I now labour under every infirmity that can ſhatter the human frame, and am engaged in buſineſs which calls for all my time and attention, I cannot forbear acknowledging the receipt of your letters, as they manifeſt the warmeſt affection for my perſon, and the moſt friendly anxiety for the ſucceſs of my meaſures.

It gives me no uneaſineſs to find that my conduct is the univerſal ſubject of converſation, and, with numbers, matter of the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. I have not accuſtomed myſelf to tread in the beaten paths through which moſt of my predeceſſors have travelled without deviation; every thing that bears the air of ſyſtem and uniformity, I look upon with contempt and reject with indignation.

My aim has ever been, to render my plans and purſuits beyond the underſtanding, and therefore ſecure from the attacks of thoſe who otherwiſe might be led by inclination to diſprove, and qualified with ability to oppoſe my meaſures. The man who is ever incomprehenſible, will, in general, be thought inimitable. The multitude know little of my diſpoſition; they are for the moſt part utter ſtrangers to thoſe motives which have been the ſource of my actions, and blind to thoſe cauſes which have produced my ſucceſs. By the moſt diſcerning part of the nation I have been looked upon as one fraught with an haughty, indignant ſpirit; obſtinate in reſiſtance to thoſe who were above me; abſolute and deſpotic in my commands over thoſe beneath me.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding this notion of me prevailed, whilſt my conduct appeared to be diſintereſted, my character ſtood highly exalted: and though turbulent in oppoſition, and tyrannical in adminiſtration, I was regarded as a demigod in politics. My powers of oratory, moſt bountifully beſtowed upon me by nature, and moſt induſtriouſly improved by art, gained me numerous friends, and enabled me to overthrow powerful enemies. Actuated by ambition, and invited by opportunity, I ſet out in life with the bittereſt invectives againſt, and the warmeſt oppoſition to, an unpopular, though an able miniſter; and notwithſtanding the ſlight he put upon me was neither great nor uncommon, it furniſhed me with an excuſe for commencing his ſtrenuous opponent, and continuing his unrelenting enemy.

And here, my dear friend, the general opinions of mankind concerning my behaviour, were entirely erroneous—one ſet of men fancied, that ſtimulated with the true, unfeigned ſpirit of patriotiſm, a ſincere love of my country was the ſole ſpring of my conduct—others ſuppoſed, that galled with the affront I had received from the miniſter, all my attacks upon him were dictated by vexation and diſappointment—Alas! both were egregiouſly miſtaken. My conſcience was not alarmed by his iniquitous proceedings, nor my pride ſhocked at the repulſe it had ſuſtained—Ambition alone, animated my whole frame, and gave energy and activity to all my attempts. This one paſſion begot, nouriſhed, and brought to perfection, every plan that I adopted, every meaſure that I purſued.

Docuit magnumque loqui, nitique, ſenatu.

This it was that engroſſed every wiſh of my ſoul, and called forth all the thunder of my tongue. Hence flowed all thoſe declamations, which, like the lightning of Heaven, ſmote my ſtouteſt antagoniſts with horror and conſternation. Men of all

ranks

ranks and denominations, experienced miniſters, deſperate adventurers, crafty ſtateſmen, and hardened lawyers, trembled at the ſtorm, and ſhrunk, affrighted, from the blaſt.

My powers were no ſooner known, than my wiſhes were gratified, and mankind were at once convinced of, and ſubmitted to my ſuperiority, which ſtood univerſally acknowedged and admired.

Private donations, public appointments, univerſal applauſe, fed my pride without ſatisfying my ambition. And here, conſcious of my own foible, but confident of your friendſhip, I will unboſom myſelf to you without the leaſt reſerve—power, alone, is not the object of my wiſh; that I had attained; that I might have preſerved, could I have brought myſelf to exerciſe it with any degree of diſcretion or moderation. But to proceed, uncontrouled, in a calm, inſipid round of perfect tranquility, is not within the compaſs of my deſires. It is not ſufficient for me to be obeyed—I require to be worſhipped. I expect the world not only to ſpeak and act, but to *think*, as I pleaſe. Not only to devote their hands and hearts, but their ſenſes to my pleaſure—in a word, I not only look for applauſe and obedience, but adoration. Such is the end I have all along propoſed; and hitherto I have uſed fit means to attain it. In oppoſition, I have found that reſolution has overcome reaſon, and aſſurance been more admired than eloquence. The moſt violent ſpeeches have been more effectual than ſolid arguments—flights of imagination, extravagant figures, and numerous claſſical quotations, have captivated the attention, delighted the ears, and warped the judgments of the audience, when the ſoundeſt ſenſe, the ſhrewdeſt arguments, and the cloſeſt reaſoning, have paſſed unobſerved and neglected, as enervate, inanimate matter, more fit for converſation at a tea-table, than a debate in the S——H——.

H——. In adminiſtration, my practice has been to reject all treaty with enemies, and in the moſt peremptory ſtile to inſiſt upon every article that I propoſed. I have never ſuffered my brethren in office to ſhare my power or be privy to my deſigns; they have ever been the tools of my ambition, but never the partners of my glory. Battles have been fought, victories obtained, and countries ſubdued, to aggrandize my name, and confirm my popularity; and, whilſt the victors have pined for want of proviſions, or fainted in ſcorching climates, the Park and Tower guns have echoed, in thunder, my praiſes over the metropolis, and bonefires and illuminations have been exhibited as the brighteſt emblems of my genius and ſucceſs. Had I lived in other countries and in earlier times, the world would have acknowledged me the offspring of a deity, and all the nations would have kneeled to hail the ſon of Jupitar Ammon. But when reaſon has taken its turn to rule, when the united endeavours of induſtrious, indefatigable men have ſtaggered me in my ſtation, and when a ſcene has opened itſelf before me, ilſuited to my diſpoſition, becauſe more circumſcribed in buſineſs, and leſs ſplendid in its conſequence, I have retired with ſulky dignity, and withdrawn myſelf from the view and converſation of mankind. This retirement has always had its wiſhed for effect. Prayers and ſolicitations to return have dragged me from my ſolitude, and I have made my appearance juſt time enough to prevent the miſchievous effects of an impolitic meaſure, and again to convince the world, that without me nothing wiſe or ſucceſsful can ever be tranſacted. Thus, though my conduct has been myſterious, and my deſigns unſearchable, yet few of my endeavours have been defeated in the end. Let me, therefore, thou beſt of men, exhort thee not to be alarmed at the diſturbances which have enſued in a

quarter of the world, to which it was expected I ſhould reſtore tranquility. My genius, active and enterpriſing, cannot content itſelf with dull ſerenity and peace. If there are no broils abroad, we muſt excite feuds at home; and if ſtrife is at an end with our natural enemies, we muſt cheriſh diſputes with our neareſt friends.

Don't be ſurprized, if in a ſhort time to come, I make war upon thoſe for whom, a few years ago, I expoſed all the force, and exhauſted the whole treaſure of this kingdom. In my annals you will find meaſures as oppoſite, and contradictions as irreconcileable; and be aſſured the effect produced will be the end propoſed. Multitudes, who are too proud to ſubmit to the laws of their country, will be mean enough to proſtrate themſelves before my image; and thoſe who have been moſt inſolent in their reſiſtance of government, will be the moſt abject in their ſubmiſſion to my will. When I ſhake my trident, and pronounce the awful "quos ego," the ſtorm will inſtantly ſubſide. The nations will hear, admire and obey.

Give yourſelf no concern about any ſeeming defection, any faint dawning of independance, that you may fancy you have diſcovered amongſt that ſet of men, who are called my friends. For the moſt part I hold them in great contempt; few of them have had courage either to oppoſe or obey me. There is ſuch an eternal war between their hopes and fears, their duty and their judgments, that their whole conduct is a ſtrange, wild ſcene of diffidence and diſmay, anarchy and confuſion. The only diſtinction I make between my friends and my enemies is no other than this; the former I regard as my ſervants, the latter as my prey. The former are miniſters to my convenience, the latter food for my paſſions. By being called my ſervants, they may gain ſome degree of reſpect, but they muſt re-

ſign

ſign all pretenſions to independance. I may now and then indulge one or two of them in the uſe of ſcraps of Magna Charta, or ſend a portrait to keep company with the goggle-ey'd giants at Guildhall. This is the utmoſt extent of my kindneſs to the beſt of them; and, if any deluded individual amongſt them ſhould dare to think for himſelf, I diſmiſs him with as little ceremony as I ſhould diſcharge my poſtilion. Theſe friends (as they are called) are like the centers of an arch, neceſſary to its being raiſed, but not requiſite to its ſupport. I have nothing further to add, ſave that I recommend it to you, to lay aſide your fears, to chear our friends, and ſupport our cauſe. Perſevere in your laudable plan of life; I will inflexibly purſue mine; inculcate a veneration of my perſon and meaſures in the minds of your intimates and adherents, the black Myrmidons of Bow-ſtreet, and the ſooty ſons of St. Giles's. The connection will render both our characters more illuſtrious. You will be complimented with the appellation of my friend, I ſhall be honoured as your patron. You will have the praiſe of having ſupported a great man, and I the applauſe of calling forth obſcure merit.

Believe me with thanks for your paſt ſervices, and a reſpect for your morals and manners.

C——

Againſt the Liberty of the Preſs.

TO recapitulate the notorious evils that the liberty of the preſs hath involved us in, are paſt enumeration.

It is the beaten path that gradually and gently leads us to deſtruction. It hath ſwollen us with arrogance, and made us big in ſelf-conceitedneſs. And by theſe means we are privately contemned, deſpiſed and hated by good and ſenſible people in every country, where letters are known. It hath

not only inſulted, but hath almoſt rooted out religion from among us, by ſubſtituting licentiouſneſs for liberty; and now habit hath made us thoughtleſs of the conſequence, and hath inſenſibly hardened our hearts againſt conſcious virtue; juſt as much as habit hath inſenſibly hardened the heart of a Whitechapel butcher, who can ſkin a living lamb, for ſport and diverſion;—this is habit; for the innate ideas of the incorrigible, unfeeling wretch, were not inferior to a philoſopher's, no! nor to a noble peer's—which Mr. Locke has abundantly proved.

The liberty of the preſs ſubverts juſtice, by the firſt impreſſion made on the minds of juries, and may be judges. It deprives us of right reaſon, by the ſubtility of ſophiſm. It provokes malice, and cauſes diſcontent. It invents ways and means to throw forth invectives and ſcandal on our friends, our neighbours, and ourſelves, as well as on our enemies. It was the principal and ſole cauſe of raiſing a ferment in the nation, which rendered the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhment neceſſary; it precluded clemency.—Mercy is an eſſential attribute in the God-head; but was by the Stoicks reckoned baſeneſs in man, becauſe it regardeth not the cauſe, but the condition.

The liberty of the preſs keeps us in continual fear, and makes us tenacious and opiniative: but the abettors of licentiouſneſs, the admirers of anarchy, and our republicans, will argue otherwiſe; though you may perceive melancholy in their aſpect; they now begin to be ſenſible of their folly, and are afraid that they cannot reſume their element; but muſt act and think like men who muſt anſwer for the deeds done in the body.

Sober thinking men are afraid that the liberty of the preſs will be continued till it terminates in the total forfeiture of our liberties, civil and religious,

as

as a juſt puniſhment from heaven for our impudence, in exalting ourſelves above the degree of ſhort-lived rational animals.

The ſituation of England, together with her other numerous gifts of nature, hath rendered her at all times more conſpicuous in improvements than her neighbouring nations; which we modeſtly impute to our own natural pre-eminence and ſuperiority above others; and for theſe good reaſons, we adopt but the vanities of other nations, and deſpiſe an example of good order and ſound policy from them, who are mere fools and ſlaves, but not in themſelves, but in our eyes. Theſe are our notions, and we owe them to the liberty of the preſs. We wallow in wealth, nay, in ſuperfluity; we are rich in all that nature can beſtow, or that art hath brought to perfection; yet we are the moſt unhappy and diſſatisfied people under the canopy of heaven, and conſequently guilty of the enormous ſin, ingratitude. Theſe great truths bring a heavy charge againſt our rulers, and are ſerious ſubjects for their contemplation.

SERIOUS.

The printer's anſwer.

Thus far our correſpondent—who here avails himſelf of that very liberty which he ſo vehemently condemns, and which the moſt ſenſible men of this nation eſteem as one of the palladiums of Britiſh liberty.—We have ſeldom preſumed to enter the liſts with any of our correſpondents; but this general attack on the liberty of the preſs (which, if it is degenerated into abſolute licentiouſneſs, makes us parties therein) is an accuſation to which, we think, the duty we owe to ourſelves, our readers, and our country, obliges us to give ſome anſwer; and we hope this correſpondent and our readers will permit us to defend ourſelves.—To argue againſt the uſe of any thing from its being ſometimes abuſed,

is mere ſophiſtry: the ſame parity of reaſoning would interdict the uſe of food, becauſe there are gluttons; and the uſe of drink, becauſe there are drunkards. It is well known that every thing may be abuſed; religion may be perverted into bigotry and ſuperſtition; government into tyranny and oppreſſion; law into chicanery, and freedom into anarchy; but the man who would reaſon from thence that there ſhould be no religion, government, law, or freedom, becauſe they have been ſometimes, and may again be uſed, would act ſo very abſurdly as ſcarce to deſerve an anſwer. If the liberty of the preſs ever becomes licentiouſneſs, there are ſufficient laws in being to curb and puniſh it; but the whole houſe need not be deſtroyed, becauſe a chimney ſmoakes ſometimes:—though indeed it is much to be wiſhed that a proper line was fixed to divide the one from the other, and aſcertain what is, and what is not the legal and conſtitutional liberty of the preſs. For want of this criterion, men are frequently drawn into great inconveniences, and have *ignorantly*, nay, we may ſay, *innocently* incurred the diſpleaſure of their ſuperiors, whom they have not had the moſt diſtant intention to offend. To the liberty of the preſs we owe the moſt valuable bleſſings we enjoy, both in church and ſtate. To it we owe the reformation and the revolution. To it, we owe, that we are not the ſpiritleſs ſlaves which we ſee ſome of other nations are. To it, the Prince and the miniſter owe that neceſſary information of the wants, hopes, and fears of a people. Without it, the ſovereign may be told *all is well*, when his ſubjects are oppreſſed in the moſt grievous degree. Without it, we ſhould be tortured on the rack, and forbidden to utter one groan. Without it, we ſhould be ſubject to every wrong, every oppreſſion; and not being able to vent or utter our griefs, they would rankle in the breaſt

till

till they burſt out into flames. The gentleman ſays, "our liberty of the preſs has made us deſpiſed and hated by the good and ſenſible people in every country where letters are known." That gentleman ſurely is miſtaken in his phraſe, and means that we are *envied* by them. In other countries, where news-papers cannot be printed without being firſt peruſed by a miniſter, can we expect truth in them? Are not the people lulled into a ſecurity by ſuch opiates? For we have known when bonfires have been made and Te Deum ſung in Paris, as for a victory, though they have been defeated. In other countries, where not even a ſhop bill or advertiſement can be printed without an *imprimatur*, can we ſuppoſe they *deſpiſe* us for the liberty we enjoy, or that they do not *envy* it. This gentleman ſays, "the liberty of the preſs ſubverts juſtice, by prejudicing the minds of Juries, &c."—They muſt be very weak men indeed, who are thus prejudiced, and totally unfit to decide between man and man. Does not every juryman ſwear to try according to the *evidence* produced? How then can any honeſt thinking man dare to judge from *any thing elſe?* This liberty, he ſays, "was the *principal* and *ſole* cauſe of the late riots." How can this be? Can a *principal* cauſe be the *ſole* cauſe? Whatever is called *principal*, we conceive to mean the chief or moſt prevailing of any other; and there muſt be *other* cauſes in the train to make *any one* the principal: ſo he confounds terms together; and we cannot think the liberty of the preſs was either the *ſole* or the *principal* cauſe of them. The firſt cauſe was certainly *diſtreſs*, that produced *diſcontent*; and we much doubt, whether one in ten of theſe rioters was able to read. It has been remarked by ſome judicious writers, that none have been ever ſo ſtrenuous againſt the liberty of the preſs, as thoſe who have been afraid that their vices, their follies, their

injuſtice, miſdeeds and oppreſſions, would be thereby laid open; and that obſervation holds good in the general. Thoſe who would correct the *licentiouſneſs* of the preſs, may be *good* men; but thoſe who would entirely deſtroy its *liberty*, and ſubject it to a licenſer, are demonſtrably *bad* men. We plead only for the liberty, not the abuſe of it. We have frequently entreated our correſpondents, in their diſcuſſion of any point, to avoid perſonal reflections, and we have frequently diſmiſſed letters of that tendency. If any ſuch have been admitted, it was unwittingly, and entirely owing to that fallibility of judgment inherent in man; for we can truly ſay, that though we may have ſometimes given offence, that offence was not intentional; as we could not imagine that diſcuſſing *meaſures*, in which every individual was concerned, could be *blameable*, while *the private characters of thoſe who planned them, as* men, *were unattacked.*

Extract from Biſhop Hayter's Eſſay on the Liberty of the Preſs.

HIS Lordſhip's firſt, and main propoſition is, "That the Liberty of the Preſs is inviolably connected with the liberty of the ſubject." Which he thus proves:

"The uſe of ſpeech is a natural right, which muſt have been reſerved, when men gave up their natural rights for the benefit of ſociety.

"*Printing is a more extenſive and improved kind of ſpeech:* as ſuch, it cannot, without a violation of the natural rights ſo reſerved, be ſubjected to any reſtraints but ſuch as are fitly laid upon ſpeech.

"Blaſphemy, perjury, treaſon, and perſonal ſlander, are the principal offences which demand a reſtraint. The three firſt are offences againſt the whole community." [Let the offender be puniſhed,

ed, whoever he be; but let not a whole nation, on account of the miſdemeanors of one or more, be deprived of this excellent gift of ſpeech and public improvement.]

" The laſt [perſonal ſlander] being only an offence againſt individuals, if the puniſhment of it be carried beyond the damage ſuſtained by the perſons aggrieved, the Liberty of the Preſs may be violated in ſome inſtances, in which that Liberty is of the utmoſt conſequence to the intereſts of the family on the Throne, and to the Liberty of this country in general.

" The exerciſe of this Liberty of the Preſs (ſays this worthy Prelate, under the ſame head) amidſt all the perſecutions it laboured under, had the good effect of putting the nation upon their guard, in the reign of King Charles II. It was by the exerciſe of the ſame Liberty, that every motion of the deſperate enemy was proclaimed and oppoſed, in the reign of King James II. It was by means of the Truths conveyed by the Preſs, that the Miniſtry of the four laſt years of Queen Anne became odious to the public, and that his late Majeſty [George I.] eſcaped falling into the hands of the deſperate enemy, of perſons who would have deprived that Prince of the ſervice of his moſt faithful friends, and by degrees have betrayed him and the conſtitution, to an enemy more terrible to Great-Britain and Ireland, than ſword or peſtilence."

A WILLIAMITE.

Some Reflections on the preſent high Price of Proviſions, and hints of ſome probable Remedies.

SO much has been ſaid on this ſubject, that the public probably may begin to grow weary of it—And yet it does not appear that any ſcheme is yet fixed upon for a remedy. The wound lies deep,

deep, and muſt, to be cured, be probed to the bottom. The root of our calamity ſeems to be, that for ſome years paſt we have loſt, as it were, in public affairs, as well as in private, the idea of our being a people or community. Every object is viewed in a particular light only, without ſtretching our view to the great whole of the public. We ſee little, preſent advantages, but do not diſcern the future greater evils ariſing in conſequence—we ſee the ſtate of preſent profit, but are blind to the beam of future ill.

If we examine even our public tranſactions, we ſhall find they have generally a particular and narrow view; not the wide, extended one of the public whole—— that they regard chiefly the preſent imagined good, without reflecting on, or guarding againſt the future ill that may ariſe therefrom. The landed gentleman, that he may have the higher rent for his eſtate, is a warm advocate, at all events, for a bounty on exportation of corn, without regarding how hard the condition of the labouring, which is the bulk of the people, is thereby rendered; and without reflecting, that if by the high price of proviſions our foreign trade is loſt, his land muſt neceſſarily be ſo burdened, as will reduce the value of it very greatly. The L—d, to ſave a little preſent trouble and expence, throws down his tenements, and brings his ſeveral farms into one, without regarding that he is thereby depopulating his country, and robbing it of that ſtrength which may one day be wanting to defend it. The merchant ſhips carry out his corn for foreign parts, though he is even ſenſible that a famine muſt enſue from it at home; and all the neceſſaries of life are made articles of trade among ourſelves; ſo that we do not pay for them merely as the products of the earth, but as articles of trade; or at a much encreaſed price beyond what

the value of the lands and the labour of cultivation requires.

Here is the root that muſt be cut off, if we would ſee things amended—In vain will be any temporary importations, or prohibitions of exportation, or fruitful ſeaſons, if this evil is not remedied. The ſuffering the neceſſaries of life to be made articles of trade, without any reſtraint, will always produce the like effects, as we have experienced for ſome years paſt. Every one plainly ſees, notwithſtanding the ſophiſtical arguments of ſome writers to the contrary, that within the circuit of his own obſervation, monopolizers, regrators, and foreſtallers are the cauſe of every advanced price on proviſions. When he ſees a miller, by buying up corn that would otherwiſe be brought into the market by the farmers, and vending it again in flour, grow rich in a very ſhort time, can he doubt whether he does not pay a much higher price in proportion than the farmer would have vended it for in the market. If he ſees a rich, monopolizing farmer's yard, who, perhaps, holds the greateſt part of the corn land, around, full of ricks, and, at the ſame time, a very modicum of corn brought into the markets, does he doubt whether, if this rich farmer's large farms were let to ſeveral, that there would not be a much greater abundance of corn expoſed to ſale? And if theſe are viſibly the operating cauſes of the dearneſs of corn in many places, may it not be reaſonably ſuppoſed they are the operating cauſes throughout the whole kingdom? In ſhort, this is the general ſenſe of the kingdom upon the ſubject, and the general opinion is commonly a true one. How comes it that all orders of men in general, in the various parts of the kingdom join in this opinion, if they are not led into it by their own obſervations? And there can be no way to prevent this but by pro-

hibiting

hibiting the monopolizing of farms; which, if only for the ſake of population, ought to be done —reſtraining millers and others from jobbing in corn—reducing all the laws relating to monopolizing, regrating and foreſtalling into one plain act, and making the offence eaſy to be convicted in a ſummary way, at a ſmall expence—as much as poſſible preventing the neceſſaries of life going through many hands before they come to the conſumer—and appointing one meaſure, and no other, to be uſed throughout the kingdom. Such regulations would probably have a great effect in keeping down the price of proviſions. But, perhaps, as circumſtances are, nothing will do it effectually but abſolutely fixing the price. This is done in many places in Germany, and other parts, and with good effect; and it does not ſeem impoſſible to do it here, and without any prejudicial conſequences. Suppoſe the bounty, if that, upon examination is found in any wiſe beneficial, be continued as it is; but for home conſumption, let the price of all grain be fixed at a certain rate (above ſuch a certain value, under which it ſhould never be fixed, let the plenty be what it would) in proportion to the favourableneſs of the harveſt. I cannot but think a jury of gentleman-farmers, and tradeſmen, under the obligation of a ſolemn oath, might and would fix a fair price between the grower and conſumer. Let then every grower of corn be obliged to furniſh at the fixed price the next, or ſome other market-town, with a quantity of marketable grain every month in the year, in proportion to the number of acres he grows, only allowing a reaſonable advance every month for his keeping it. Let alſo an advanced price be allowed in proportion to the number of miles it is taken to any diſtant market where it may be wanted. Let alſo ſuch regulations be eſtabliſhed in all markets,

that

that all private perſons may be ſupplied before jobbers.

Some ſuch regulations as theſe, with reſpect to grain, and the other immediate neceſſaries of life, would, in general, keep them at a moderate price, at leaſt in the country, in which moſt of our manufactures are carried on. At the ſame time, ſuch regulations would not tend to depreſs the ſpirit of huſbandry, as the farmer would be left to make the moſt he could of a great part of his products; and it is probable, that in conſideration of a price being fixed for home conſumption, he would raiſe the price ſomething on the jobber employed to buy up for foreign uſe, ſo that there would only be ſome leſſening in the profit to the jobber or merchant, who can beſt bear it; the jobber being a buſineſs attended with the greateſt certainty, and the leaſt incumbrance of any buſineſs; and the merchant's profit is generally conſiderable. As to the remark in a pamphlet lately publiſhed, That obliging a perſon to ſell at any particular price, would be attended with that worſt of all oppreſſions —the *Invaſion of property*—it is, to give it no harſher a title, a moſt weak aſſertion, contrary to the fundamental principle of the compact of ſociety; which is—a ſacrificing, in ſome degree, of private property to the good of the whole. In fact, every tax that is levied, is, in a ſtrict ſenſe, an *Invaſion of Property*; but it is an invaſion allowed of in in the very compact of ſociety, whenever it is judged by the ſociety to be for the good of the whole. And can any caſe require this more, than the ſociety having the neceſſaries of life at ſuch a price that they may be able to ſubſiſt by their labour? Will this writer dare to aver, that ſuppoſing a few perſons had ingroſſed all the neceſſaries of life in any place, that they have a right to put ſuch a high price on them as to render it impoſſi-

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ble for the people to purchaſe? Have they a right to ſtarve the ſociety they are in compact with, or reduce them to the condition of becoming their ſlaves for the price of food? If he does, whoever he is, he is not worthy of living under the compact of ſociety; and yet, in fact, he does more when he pretends that an act of the whole ſociety for fixing the price of proviſions, would diſſolve any one affected by it from their allegiance to the ſtate.

The reaſons this author alledges for the dearneſs of proviſions, are as futile as his argument againſt fixing the price of proviſions is ſavage. In fact, the ſpirit of trade, with reſpect to the neceſſaries of life, is gone to ſuch a boundleſs length, not only our corn, but our cheeſe, &c. exported in ſuch quantities, that, I believe, experience will ſhew that we muſt abſolutely fix the price for home conſumption, and let the advance fall on the demand from abroad; otherwiſe we are giving away all the bleſſings of our fruitful ſoil to others. As matters go on, and it is likely will go on, unleſs the ſpirit of trade with regard to the articles of life is laid under ſome reſtrictions, it ſeems impoſſible we ſhould continue half a century longer a great trading people; for either the price of our labour muſt be raiſed, or our manufacturers will remove to other kingdoms, or ſo decreaſe here, by penury, that we ſhall not have hands ſufficient. One recent inſtance ſeems to coroborate what I have been arguing, that a reſtriction of the ſpirit of trade, with regard to the neceſſaries of life, is the very remedy.

Did not the whole nation think the allowing the importation of Iriſh tallow would have reduced the price of candles? It did ſo, as well as I can remember, for a ſhort time—but as ſoon as the great dealers had had time to ſettle their contracts

for

for engroſſing the greateſt part, tallow roſe again, and candles has continued to riſe ever ſince, and are ſtill riſing.

It is, I think, the duty of every member of ſociety to communicate ſuch hints as he thinks may be beneficial: they may, poſſibly, though not altogether right, give ſome light, and be of uſe. I cannot conclude without obſerving, that as the prohibition of uſing any other than one meaſure throughout the kingdom, it is univerſally known, would be productive of very beneficial effects to the public, it is ſurpriſing that this prohibition ſhould not be effectually laid, as it could occaſion no inconveniency but to the diſhoneſt. S. M.

Anſwer to an Objection commonly made to the Taxation of America.

IT has been affirmed, that the Americans in the Britiſh manufactures they purchaſe, pay all the taxes that are paid by us. But as far as I can learn from hiſtory, faction never ſet up a more falſe pretence. When an Engliſhman living in England, buys linen, woollen, or Engliſh-made toys, he aſſuredly pays his proportion of the taxes charged on the manufacturer while he was working up the needed commodity. But this trifle is nothing to the various taxes each of us pay on our own conſumption and property, according to our ſituation in life. *Ex. gra.* The landed man pays for his own land a land-tax, beſides the proportion of that tax paid in purchaſed commodities. Every man that uſes candles pays the exciſe on candles conſumed in his own houſe, beſides his proportion of that exciſe paid in the various commodities he purchaſes. The American bears no burden ſimilar to either of theſe taxes. Every man in England that uſes malt beer or Britiſh made ſpirits, pays

taxes

taxes on theſe quite different from and independant of his proportion of taxes paid in purchaſing ſuch things as both he and Americans purchaſe. The ſame reaſoning holds in many other inſtances, and perſuades us that the Americans in purchaſing Britiſh-made manufactures, pay nothing to the ſupport of government equivalent to what we pay, although they receive from it the ſame protection with us.

To purſue this argument a little further, an American, in purchaſing Britiſh commodities, pays no more to the ſupport of the Britiſh government than a Spaniard or Portugueſe does when he buys of us, and of conſequence, an American, in making theſe purchaſes, is not contributory in his quality of a Britiſh ſubject to the ſupport of our government.

Beſides, there are many thouſands in America who never wore either Britiſh-made cloth or linen, or hats from this country, and ſome of theſe ſubſtantial farmers too, as every perſon, who ever lived in America for the ſpace of a year, muſt have obſerved. Pray what do theſe perſons pay to the ſupport of the Britiſh government? I wiſh Britannicus would inform us or defend the propriety of taxing, unequally, ſubjects that receive an equal protection in proportion to their property.

ANGLUS.

On the Reduction of the Land-Tax to Three Shillings in the Pound.

THE late triumph of independency over influence, has afforded conſolation to every well-wiſher to the conſtitution and permanent liberty of the ſubject. The *Favourite* and his aſſociate E—l had taken up an opinion, that whatever Miniſter was in office, he might rely upon a determined Majority. To make this the more certain,

certain, all family and other connections among the great men of the nation was diſſolved as far as influence could effect it. None were protected in their employments upon a change but thoſe who profeſſed to depend on the ——— himſelf. What this led to is of too high a nature to be inveſtigated in a news-paper; but this may ſafely be ſaid, that ſhould P———s once be found at the beck of *every Miniſter*, they would preſently loſe the regard and confidence of the people; and when that was the caſe, their diſſuſe would not be deemed a calamity. Thank God, our R———s have ſhewn they do not want ſpirit to aſſert their right of judging for themſelves and us, and controlling the meaſures of A———n. I heartily congratulate them and my country upon it, and I truſt they will meet with the moſt unqueſtionable proofs of general approbation when a renewal of their truſt becomes neceſſary. The carrying a point of finance againſt an A———n may, in moſt inſtances, be conſidered as a declaration of want of confidence in thoſe who have the direction of the K—'s affairs; but in this caſe, the implication ſtrikes much deeper. For the money ſaved, is ſaved in the pockets of the landed Gentlemen, and it is retained from the C——l L———t, and this upon the eve of a G——l E———n. Our great M———r, it is ſhrewdly ſuſpected, was brought in to repleniſh the C——l L——t, and he was applied to becauſe none elſe would do it. This he was to have done in the preſent year, and in the next made a reduction of the L——d T—x, for the ſake of popularity, at the inſtant of the E———n. The landed gentlemen have, however, been beforehand with him, and now his whole hopes of repleniſhing the C——l L——t hangs upon ſqueezing the E. I. C. Should the Landed Gentleman *poſtpone that* till next year, when, perhaps, a better bargain for the

public may be made, they will diſable A———n from conteſting their E——n's with them, or obtruding Clerks in Office or 'Change-alley Jobbers upon their B——s. We may then hope to ſee that once and *now* again reſpectable character in this land of liberty, a country gentleman ſupport his independancy in his country, and, upon his own bottom, come up to P——t. Meaſures will then be permanent, though M——rs be changed, for thoſe who have a right to determine upon meaſures will be men who have no intereſt but in common with their country. Such may be the conſequences of what has been done if followed by another blow. A poor C——l L——t, and a diſburthened landed man is the moſt happy concurrence for the liberty, ſafety and proſperity of this country, when a new P———t is choſen.

A Landed Man.

To the Earl of B——, on his Embaſſy to Ireland.

My Lord,

A JUST and upright Government of that kingdom over which your E———y preſides, has ever been regarded as a matter of the higheſt conſequence to the intereſts of this country. I make no doubt your Lordſhip was nominated to that important poſt, in conſequence of an unblemiſhed character, and of abilities equal to the undertaking. Falſe, though univerſal, is the opinion which fixes your Lordſhip's preſent power to your attachment to the Deputy Favourite; the preſent guide would never have produced your Lordſhip to the public eye, nor introduced you among a ſet of men, whoſe abilities, as well as actions, are incomprehenſible, had he not, from a long acquaintance, found your Lordſhip at leaſt as incomprehenſible as any of them.

The Governors of the neighbouring iſland have often, I hope unjuſtly, been accuſed of aggrandiz-

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ing their own families at the expence of the public, of portioning out their daughters with the places of government, and granting reverſions to their third generations. How happy is the ſituation of your Lordſhip, to be enabled by the experience of others, to ſhun thoſe rocks on which your predeceſſors have ſplit. Is there not a noble Earl, who laſt preſided in that country, to apply to, whoſe total neglect of his own intereſts, and ſteady attachment to thoſe of his country, have deſervedly entitled him to boroughs, penſions, and that eminent place he now poſſeſſes? He will enable your Lordſhip to ſteer through the ſtormy ſeas of government; he will lead you through the labyrinth of politics; and as his promiſe has ever been inviolated, will doubtleſs inculcate on your Lordſhip that old adage (though the maxim has ſometimes failed) that honeſty is the beſt policy.

At a time when that unhappy country is ſtruggling under the weight of taxes, her trade circumſcribed, and ſinking with the oppreſſion of unnatural penſions, your Lordſhip cannot wonder that a native ſhould be afflicted: as ſuch I addreſs your Lordſhip; convinced as I am of the fatal conſequences, which muſt inevitably attend every attempt to increaſe the already extenſive power of a L—d L——t.

Your Lordſhip is preparing for Ireland; I muſt congratulate your Lordſhip on that happy event. To a mind and diſpoſition like your's, my Lord, formed for calmneſs and tranquility, how charming the proſpect! Uninterrupted by noiſe, undiſturbed by calumny, ſo cautious will that mild people be of offending your Lordſhip's delicacy, that they will be tender even in acknowledging the benefits they ſhall receive: no loud huzzas, no noiſy acclamations of the populace, will ever, I anſwer for it, affect your Lordſhip's nerves.

It is the right, impertinent as miniſters may think it, of free born ſubjects to complain, when their country is aggrieved; and however naturally diffident and modeſt the Iriſh may appear, I aſſure your Lordſhip they are as tenacious of that right as the Engliſh: I ſhall, therefore (until I have the honour of meeting your Lordſhip in Ireland) trouble you with a few remarks on your preſent ſyſtem of government; and if your Lordſhip moves no faſter than the preſent a———n of this country, I ſhall not find much difficulty in keeping pace with you. IRELAND.

Ironical Strictures on the Conduct of the Earl of Ch———.

IT has been the lot of almoſt all great ſtateſmen, to find their labours for the public good rewarded by envy and calumny; the ungrateful people, unmindful of paſt, and unfeeling for preſent ſervices, inſtead of love, honour, and admiration, have paid them with hatred, diſgrace, and contempt.

It was thus that the Romans ſhewed their gratitude to Marius, to Sylla, to Cataline, to Verres, to Sejanus. All the ſervices which theſe great and good men heaped upon the heads of that furious and ungrateful people, could not preſerve their perſons from perſecution, whilſt living, nor their memories from infamy when dead.

We ſeem reſolved not to be outdone by the antients, in the treatment which we give our great, wiſe, ſpirited, diligent, active, uncorrupt and uncorrupting Miniſter the E— of C———. And yet, can any thing have been more *innocent* than the conduct of this great man, ſince he came into the adminiſtration? Has he been *able* to eſtabliſh a diſpenſing power in the Crown? Has he *ſucceeded* in

in continuing an heavy, unneceſſary burden on the landed intereſt? Has he, after five months endeavours, done any conſiderable miſchief to public credit, or, *as yet*, taken *the benefit of the law* from the greateſt trading property of the kingdom?

Under his *guidance* we enjoy the true bleſſings of peace, undiſturbed by the buſtle of idle negotiations and ſquabbles with foreign Courts. It is ſaid, indeed, and very truly, that our manuf acturers are idle, and our commerce ſhrunk, by the interruption of our trade with Portugal, and the vexations which our merchants ſuffer from that Court. But what does this prove againſt the E— of C———? Has not he appointed an ambaſſador, with a very noble ſalary to the Court of Portugal? What could a Miniſter do more? If people will not have patience for a year or two longer, until this ambaſſador ſhall have received his inſtructions, and reaped the reward of his ſervices, which he *will* certainly do *there*, by enjoying the emoluments of his office for a few years *here*— if they will not be patient, it is their own faults, the E— of C——— neither *can* nor *will* do more for them.

It is alſo urged againſt him, that we are triſled with by the Court of Spain, in the buſineſs of the Manilla ranſom, which had been left to him by his predeceſſors in a fair way of a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion. The fact I admit, but I deny that any blame can fall on the E— of C———, becauſe he has *nominated an Ambaſſador* to this Court alſo, and *fortified* the embaſſy with a Secretary! No *expence* has been ſpared in giving very honourable appointments on this occaſion, and as ſoon as the ambaſſador and his ſecretary have enjoyed theſe appointments for a reaſonable time, I have no doubt but that they too will receive their inſtructions, when it is convenient to *him*, and ſet

out when it ſhall be convenient to *them*, and proceed with as much expedition as is ſuitable to the gravity and ſlowneſs of the court to demand a categorical anſwer from the Spaniſh Miniſtry. If our brave officers and men who riſked their lives for the reduction of the Manillas, have not patience to wait for an anſwer, what is that to the E— of C———? He neither *can* nor *will* do more for them.

It has been alſo ſaid againſt him, that ſuch is his total diſregard to commerce, that he removed Sir G—— M———, who is our Envoy at Peterſburgh, on the very day that a commercial treaty, concluded by that gentleman (the moſt advantageous ever concluded with that court) arrived in London. But in this inſtance the fact is not true. He did not remove Sir G———; he *only* appointed an ambaſſador extraordinary in the perſon of Mr. H— S——. The purpoſe of this embaſſy is, I ſuppoſe, to return that court thanks for the favour ſhewn to Sir G———, and the buſineſs compleated by him. The honour of the nation was here alſo properly ſuſtained, by *large, honourable, and expenſive appointments*; but as this buſineſs does not require much diſpatch, the aforeſaid ambaſſador has, at the requeſt of the E— of C———, been induced to remain at home, and the ſaid E—l has given him the valuable place of Cofferer, the better to enable him to ſupport here *in London*, the dignity of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *Ruſſia*. Under this evil, I mean that of Sir G—— M——— remaining to tranſact our buſineſs in Ruſſia, and Mr. H— S—— remaining to ſpend his appointments of Ambaſſador and Cofferer in London—under this, our merchants are, I confeſs, tolerably patient, and therefore the E— of C———, neither *need*, *can*, or *will* do more for them.

It

It is complained, and certainly with truth, that from the exceſſive dearneſs of all kinds of proviſions, our poor are either periſhing with hunger, or fitting themſelves for tranſportation or the gallows, by riot or robbery. Though the fact be true, what is that to the E— of C———? Have not theſe people been told twenty times over, in all the news-papers, that the great ſtateſman has *certainly formed a plan* for reducing the price of proviſions. If, after this, a ſet of unthinking men will be riotous, if they will not wait with patience for a few years, perhaps not above eight or ten, in which time they may probably have the additional relief of ſome good harveſts, is he to blame? He has done his part, let them do theirs, or take the conſequence, for the E— of C———, neither *can* or *will* do more for them.

The complaint is almoſt univerſal, that our Government is *weak*, *irreſolute*, *fluctuating* and *ineffectual*. What then? true as it is, does that reflect any diſhonour upon him? He declared in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolemn manner, that he would *reſtore Energy* to Government. If, after this noble and ſpirited effort, Energy ſhould be obſtinate, and refuſe to be *reſtored* to government, what is that to the E— of C———? he neither *can* or *will* do more for its reſtoration.

The ſober and thinking part of mankind are alarmed to ſee the nation torn to pieces by faction and intrigue, to ſee ſtrong parties formed of the moſt reſpectable names in the kingdom, and yet theſe parties refuſing to join in the *one thing* expected from them. It is a misfortune, but not to be imputed to the E— of C———. He has *declared* and *affirmed*, both publicly and ſolemnly, that he would deſtroy all *proud connections*. Now, if *connections* ſhould grow more *proud*, and inſolently refuſe to be deſtroyed, what is that to the E— of C———?

C———? He *cannot*, (though in this inſtance, I confeſs he willing *would)* do more to deſtroy *all* proud connections, *one only excepted.*

The cry is loud and univerſal, that moſt public employments are filled by unable, inſufficient, and ignorant men, choſen for their adherence, to the Thane, or for their public or private flattery of, and conſtant ſervile ſubmiſſion to the E— of C———. I confeſs this charge alſo, but I acquit him; for he in conjunction with his Northern ally, declared that he would ſurround the ——— with all the abilities of the nation, and chuſe men for their fitneſs for the office, and not for their adherence to this or that party. If, after this, the——is ſurrounded with f—ls, and offices filled with the tools, creatures and dependants of the Favourite, how can he help it, he has done as much in this as in any other inſtance, and no more *can* or *will* be done by the E— of C———.

If we are divided, confuſed and diſtracted at home, and cheated, deſpiſed, and inſulted abroad —if our manufactures are decaying, and our trade expiring—if our people are tumultuous here, and rebellious in our colonies—if government be weak, and faction ſtrong—if the nation be oppreſſed with debts and taxes, and individuals riot in penſions and places—if our taxes encreaſe and our wealth diminiſhes—if all this (as I grant it is) and more, be true, what is all this to the E— of C———? Is he not immediately *under* the Thane, *prime*, *ſole*, *abſolute*, and *uncontroulable* Miniſter: and ought not that to make us eaſy? Ought we not to wait with patience, until, by a dozen years care of himſelf, he has got the better of the ennumerable infirmities of body, and inveterate diſtempers of mind; under which he labours—till he has ſhaken off old age and renewed his youth—till he has time to learn ſomething of buſineſs and the art of government—

vernment—till he has acquired ſome little knowledge of the country, and ſome ſmall acquaintance with the men, whom he has ſpent his whole life in ſeeking to govern—If we will not *wait* with *patience*, what is that to him? the fault is ours, he neither *can* or *will* do more for us; and we may end in poverty, diſgrace, confuſion, and deſpair, for the E—— of C——.

April 14, 1767. TRANQUILLUS.

The ſubject continued.

THE beſt critics of antiquity, when they laid down the principles of perfect compoſition, never formed their rules on any ſpeculative ideas of their own. They examined how *Homer* conducted himſelf in ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, and they invariably formed *their* theory upon *his* practice.

In theſe little, political ſpeculations, to the beſt of my power, I carefully obſerve the ſame method. I always keep my eye fixed on our true polar ſtar, our ſteady, wiſe, and unerring miniſter. *Horace*, indeed, was obliged to acknowledge, that his great poet ſometimes *nodded*; but one of our late papers very truly affirms, that our great miniſter neither *ſlumbers nor ſleeps*. With much greater propriety, therefore, do I extract from his conduct the ſureſt maxims of policy, and form all my ideas of a patriotic and perfect ſtateſman, wholly from that faultleſs example, *Te ſequor O graiæ gentis decus*, &c.

His virtues, taken in *groſs*, have been univerſally admitted by the good people of this kingdom, who were, even to a proverb, notorious for their *caution* and *incredulity*, and who are the only race of men, of whom it may ſafely be ſaid, that they are never deceived by falſe appearances, nor ever (no, not to this day) have had cauſe to change their love and admiration of a *patriot* into hatred and contempt of a *penſioner*.

That

That the nation at large ſhould be ſatisfied to admire his virtues in *bulk*, is both proper and convenient. But it is much my duty, and ſtill more my inclination, to ſelect from the group of theſe virtues, ſuch as appears to me of moſt value, and to diſplay them like gems in a royal diadem, to the aſtoniſhed gazer, in ſuch a manner as to give them their true and perfect luſtre.

For the ſubject of my preſent paper, I intend to dwell wholly on the firſt and moſt precious of all—*Secrecy*.—Of this I may affirm, what the woman (no ſmall orator) who ſhews the jewels at the Tower, ſays of the ſtone on the top of the crown—*and this pearl is in-eſ-ti-ma-ble.*

Secrecy muſt be acknowledged, of all miniſterial virtues, by far, the moſt important. Wiſdom in planning, ſkill in conducting, and reſolution in executing the greateſt deſigns, are, without this capital virtue of Secrecy, abſolutely uſeleſs and ineffectual. To prove this, a thouſand examples might be brought from antient hiſtory. Every conſpiracy, every treaſon, every intended maſſacre, where this Secrecy has been wanting, has moſt *unfortunately* miſcarried—where this was ſtrictly obſerved, they have *happily* ſucceeded.

When Cromwell (a name never to be forgotten in this country) had formed the *great* and *generous* plan of murdering his ſovereign, and placing the crown upon his own head, he truſted principally to *ſecrecy*, for the completion of that grand deſign. Had he given but the ſmalleſt intimation, had he let the leaſt hint of ſuch a project eſcape him early in life, what a chance would he have had for ſucceſs towards the cloſe of it?

By covering theſe deſigns with a moſt impenetrable *ſecrecy*, by an happy talent of *oratory*, ſuited to the temper of the times, and by a moſt laudable *hypocriſy*, he appeared a moſt diſintereſted and ſpirited

lover

lover of liberty; a man whoſe thoughts were ſolely bent, and all whoſe actions tended to break the *proud connections* by which the people were oppreſſed, and to reſtore that *energy* to *government*, which it ſo much wanted. Thus he acquired the love and confidence of the people, and obtained the aſſiſtance not only of great, but of good men, who dragged him from his native obſcurity, and enabled him to erect that truly *energetic* government in his own perſon, which was long the *aſtoniſhment* of all other nations, and will be for ever the *glory* of this *free* country.

Since the time of this great man, no one has appeared to be perfect maſter of this moſt neceſſary political virtue, except our illuſtrious ſtateſman, under whoſe ſole guidance we have been for a long period (now near ſeven months) an happy, united, and flouriſhing people. When this great man, no more than a ſimple cornet, by a violent, diſintereſted, and patriotic oppoſition to that corrupt, profligate, and unable miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, firſt drew the attention, and acquired the reſpect of the people; what good could he have poſſibly done to *himſelf* by that oppoſition, had not he kept his *real* opinion of that miniſter a moſt profound ſecret! This opinion (at a proper time) he has ſince declared publicly: and it is, "that this nation never had a more able, ſufficient, enlightened miniſter than this very Sir Robert."

When, that he might not be *reſponſible* for meaſures which he was not allowed to *guide*, he reſigned his office of Secretary of State, did not the whole nation reſound with his praiſes? His patriotiſm, his firmneſs, his integrity, his diſintereſtedneſs, were ecchoed from one end of the kingdom to the other. All men promiſed themſelves all things, from ſuch a noble conduct; and no hope flattered them more than the vigorous oppoſition which they promiſed themſelves

themſelves from *him* to the baleful influence of a juſtly deteſted favourite, which was then beginning to operate, and whoſe firſt operation was the diſgrace of our patriotic ſtateſman. Alas! Sir, ſhould we have ſung thoſe praiſes, would his name have filled every corner of the kingdom, would his firmneſs have been extolled, and his diſintereſtedneſs have been applauded, if he had not buried his intention of receiving a penſion from that very favourite, in the deepeſt and darkeſt *ſecrecy?*

How much we are indebted for his preſent exaltation, ſo glorious to himſelf, and ſo happy for us all, to his ſtrict ſecrecy, muſt plainly appear from this conſideration, that without doubt, not one of thoſe men who ſupported him, both in and out of parliament, would have lent him the leaſt aſſiſtance, if he had ſuffered his intention of ſubmitting to the Favourite, of doing his jobs, and of confirming and extending his power, to eſcape him. This, his intention, he veiled with ſo thick a *ſecrecy*, that he was raiſed *by thoſe very people who oppoſed the Favourite*, to conſideration ſufficient to induce the Thane to offer him, what he with great readineſs accepted, the unlimited power and ineſtimable privilege of depreſſing his friends, and of rewarding, to the utmoſt of their wiſhes, and far beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes, every enemy he had in the world. Could he have been raiſed by ſuch perſons, for ſuch purpoſes, without the aid of an *impenetrable ſecrecy?*

The E— of C——— having thus riſen to this honourable ſtate of power, by this ſingle virtue, he ſtill perſeveres in the practice of it, with uncommon, and ſurely moſt laudable ſteadineſs. He knows that the very eſſence of *ſecrecy* is, to have communication with no man; for which reaſon, ever ſince the Favourite has committed the management of all buſineſs into his hands, he has abſolutely

ſhut

ſhut himſelf up from all poſſible intercourſe with the world. He refuſes to ſee (from this principle unqueſtionably) G—— C——, whoſe diſcretion no body can doubt, as well as C—— T——, who, as every one knows, is a blab; L— S—— is a boy; good enough, indeed, for a Secretary of State in ſuch a country as this, but by no means fit to be the confident to the real miniſter. The —— of ——, whoſe *extreme pliancy* ſeemed to include every qualification neceſſary for holding the firſt nominal employment in the country, promiſed nothing of this indiſpenſible talent. He is, therefore, with a juſt and merited contempt, excluded. —— ——, that ſpirited aſſertor of the liberty of the ſubject, that generous defender and enlarger of the prerogative of the crown, that bulwark of the law of the land, that renewer, or rather inventor of the law of the day, that ſtrenuous defender of Magna Charta, that able advocate for State Neceſſity, that warm friend of government by law, that zealous promoter of the diſpenſing power; this —— —— has not been able to keep *his own ſecret*, he is now very well known, and for that reaſon is wholly unfit to be truſted; with great wiſdom, therefore, he is excluded from confidence. —— ——, who obtained from our great miniſter every other favour of place, penſion, and reverſion, could never obtain the favour of being entruſted with his *ſecret*. The ground of this ſuſpicion was, probably, becauſe this venerable old L—— was very willing, on all occaſions, to *ſwear* that he would keep, and *damn himſelf to hell* if he revealed it.

There is another perſon, as different in character from, as he is ſuperior in ſtation to, any of thoſe I have mentioned, whom he has not condeſcended to ſee above two or three times. Why,—I cannot tell,—or, perhaps, this—or, perhaps, t'other—no

matter

matter—he will not ſee him, and he is right. So far, indeed, has he, moſt wiſely carried this point of *ſecrecy*, that he dares not *take L—— B——'s pleaſure* with any oſtentation or parade, but receives it with a decent humility in *private*, though he obeys it with becoming ſpirit in *public*. In ſhort, by his exertion of this great talent, he has attained to a perfection which no former miniſter ever aſpired—to conſult without adviſers, and to execute without inſtruments.

So perfect is he in the practice of this ſublime virtue, that I challenge the moſt inveterate of his enemies to point out a ſingle inſtance in which it has failed him. Is not his knowledge of mankind, of chuſing and managing them, a profound ſecret? Is not his ſkill in the commerce and finances of the kingdom a moſt profound ſecret? Are not his ſchemes for our internal government, and for our foreign negotiation, ſecrets not yet violated? Has any man been yet able to gueſs at what he intends to do with that great and important branch of our commerce carried on by the Eaſt India company? Has yet a glimmering of light ſhone upon his intended reformation of our conſtitution? Is any man yet able to form a probable conjecture, by what means America is to be ordered and governed, and her commerce preſerved to Great Britain? Has any one preſumed to divine what meaſures he means to purſue for the diſſolution of the family compact? Does any one, even a mad man, deſire to know how *proud connections* are to be *broken*, the national debt reduced, public credit revived, taxes moderated, proviſions made plenty, trade and manufactures reſtored, and *energy* given to *government?* Theſe are, happily, *impenetrable ſecrets*, and that they may always continue ſo for the honour, dignity, and proſperity of this nation, muſt be the wiſh of every

Engliſhman

Engliſhman well affected to the preſent happy union of L—d B—— and L—d C——.

He (Lord C——) reſolved that the prying curioſity of impertinent people at home, ſhould not find out his ſecrets, admits no man (except Alderman B—ck—d and the E— of B—, which makes no difference) to his preſence. And to prevent foreigners from pumping our Miniſters, he moſt prudently keeps the ambaſſadors, whom he has appointed (and of whoſe diſcretion he is the beſt judge) at home. In ſhort, ſo *deep*, ſo *perfect*, ſo *impenetrable* is his *ſecrecy* in every thing, that all men, foreigners as well as natives, friends as well as foes, cry out with one voice, "*What the devil is L—d C——m about?*"

Lombard-ſtreet, April 27. TRANQUILLUS.

On the Inſanity of ——

Dulce eſt deſipere in loco.

THE oracles delivered by the prieſteſs of Apollo were never ſo much reſpected, as when the lady herſelf appeared to be moſt diſordered in her ſenſes. Common nonſenſe was but little regarded; but if ſhe raved, her anſwers were heard with wonder and ſubmiſſion; and the moment ſhe became ſtark mad, they were infallible. That idiots and madmen had a ſhare of divine inſpiration, has been the belief of the wiſeſt as well as the moſt ignorant nations; and ſome nations have even gone ſo far, as to think that their affairs were never in ſafer hands, than when madneſs had the direction, and folly the execution of government. It is no wonder, then, that, in any age ſo religiouſly given as the preſent, a doctrine ſhould be found to prevail, which implies an entire reliance upon the ſingle care of providence, and an abſolute ſurrender of all the uſes of human reaſon. Upon this foundation

foundation the good people of England have, without diſpute, all poſſible cauſe to be ſatisfied with their condition; for I defy the moſt virulent cynic to point out a ſingle meaſure purſued by our reſpectable governors, which hath not evidently carried the marks of a preternatural impulſe; or to name any one member of the ſociety, who hath not his due ſhare of inſpirition, from lunacy at the top, by a regular anti-climax, to ſorrowful drivelling at the bottom. When the high prieſt himſelf, for inſtance, with a wild diſtracted look and uplifted hands, declared, that the compact between Great-Britain and America was broken, was it not evident to all mankind that the fit was ſtrong upon him? Could any man, not thoroughly poſſeſſed by ſome God or Dæmon, have delivered thoſe ſacred oracles, for which the nation is ſo much indebted to him; which taught us truths beyond the reach of mortal logick; that two ſupreme powers might exiſt in the ſame goverment; and that a ſuſpending power in the crown was perfectly conſiſtent with, if not eſtabliſhed by, the bill of rights? Theſe were myſteries, which neither Greeks nor Romans could ever have been apprized of without ſending to Delphi; nor perhaps would they have obtained here by any thing leſs than divine authority.

What ſort of reſponces our high prieſt hath lately delivered is not generally known. It ſeems he has withdrawn himſelf to the inmoſt receſs of the Temple, where he communicates with none but the elect. Yet from the convulſions, with which the inferior miniſters appear to be now-and-then agitated, we may flatter ourſelves that the divine favour hath not quite deſerted him. The few, who are permitted to approach his perſon, evidently catch a portion of it from him, which they, in their turn, impart to the ſubalterns neareſt to them. In the courſe of a few gradations the infection becomes general,

general, and breaks out in a variety of appearances, according to the different conſtitutions it has to work upon.

You ſhall ſee a L——d C——r, who firſt catches the ray of inſpiration, nearly as much diſordered as the high prieſt himſelf. See how he foams, and mark well the inverted doctrines that fall from him:

I'll ſign the proclamation—the law is of our ſide againſt itſelf—or it is but a forty days tyranny at moſt. Now turn to that young ſecretary. It is a cunning lunatic, who aſks you for a pinch of ſnuff and picks your pocket. Would you believe that ſuch a cool blooded boy could ever become delirious? power, alas! and my Lord C—m, have made him ſo.

But what invocations of all the infernal Gods are ringing in my ears! It is the P—t of the C—l; that reſpectable pillar of the law, or rather that prop, ſet up for a time, to be withdrawn as ſoon as the mine was ready to overwhelm the conſtitution.

The Com——r in Ch—— too! Has he been bitten? He ſlavers at the mouth, and abhors the ſight of water. Beware of the S—y at W—, my Lord. He is not half ſo mad as he pretends to be. All characters ſuit him, for he ſuits himſelf to all characters. He can rave with C——m, or drivel with N——e; or, if all fail, he can innoculate for the itch, and ſympathize with the E. of B.

Theſe are ſome of the ſymptoms, by which you may ſee what care Providence has taken of us. But you are not to ſuppoſe, that all the officers of the ſtate poſſeſs the ſame degree of inſpiration. The true original frenzy is confined to a very ſmall number. A gentle ſoporific dulneſs prevails over the reſt. They ſee the God in their dreams, and utter their half-formed conception by broken fits and ſtarts, which, to us uninitiated mortals, convey no trace of meaning. The trade of this country, and the

management of the navy, are too heavy for the occupation of finer parts; nor does it require the ſpirit of prophecy to know what will be the end of them. In this political kettle, the froth is all at top; the ſediment of dulneſs goes to the bottom.

I will not conclude without congratulating you upon the fair proſpect before us. By the moſt authentic accounts, there is no reaſon to fear that our high prieſt ſhould ever be leſs inſpired than he is. The ſtrait waiſtcoat is talked of, and I have the pleaſure of aſſuring you, that Doctor B—tt—e has declared that he will proceed no farther without the aſſiſtance of Dr. M—n—o.

MAD MONTAGUE.

On incloſures.

THE great objection to incloſing is, that it depopulateth the country, in reducing the number of farms, and annihilating the cottages, by which means numbers of the lower claſs of people are not only turned out of doors, but driven to ſeek a living in a way they many times have not been uſed to. This is a moſt abominable practice, ſpreading further and wider every day. Enough cannot be ſaid, nor too much done, to break the neck thereof. Every tongue ſhould decry, and every hand be lifted up againſt it. Though nothing I apprehend ſhort of the interpoſition of the legiſlature will be effectual to the purpoſe. It has been obſerved, and obſerved with much concern, by the conſiderate and diſcerning, that the affair of incloſure has not been carried on in the manner the good of all the individuals required. The tacking houſe to houſe, and field to field, is too much the faſhion of the times. And if not ſhortly put a ſtop to, will inevitably prove the deſtruction of this once flouriſhing and opulent kingdom. Thoſe not to be ſatisfied engroſſers act in open violation of the natural

rights

rights of others, their fellow creatures. God certainly intended that this earth ſhould be a maintenance for all his creatures living upon it. A working time for the head and hands is indeed required on man's part to obtain it. How unequal, how unfair the preſent diſtribution? Some are become ſuch mighty profeſſors of that which was dealt out in common to all, by the common father of all, as to exclude multitudes from the leaſt ſhare of it. All monopolies are, in a ſenſe, hurtful to ſociety, but this kind of monopoly is one of the foreſt evils under the ſun, as being the great obſtacle in the way of marriage, which is the principal ſource of the ſtrength of a nation.

I know ſeveral young perſons of both ſexes, ſober, induſtrious, and careful, who, by continued ſavings in a long ſervice, have acquired what one may call, a handſome ſum to begin the world with, and from a mutual liking of each other's perſons and tempers, would gladly come together in marriage, but are kept from it year after year for want of harbour. This is a grievance which calls for immediate redreſs. I hope it will be thought of by thoſe in power before it is too late.

It comes opportunely in here to ſet down the practice of a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I am confident would not go into the above way of heaping farm upon farm, and pulling down his cottage houſes, were he ſure to double his rents thereby. His method of ordering his eſtate, which is worthy of imitation, is this. Small farms of ten, or under ten pounds a year, he converts into twice as many tenements; making of each farm two cottages. To thoſe he aſſigns two cow-gates a-piece, dividing the incloſure about the houſe with what meadow ground belonged to it whilſt a farm equally betwixt them: the arable he throws to ſome of his leſſer farms. By which wiſe diſpoſition he finds

a dwelling for twice the families he had before upon thoſe parts of his eſtate, and both his other farmers and thoſe cottagers live the more comfortably for it. The latter can ſee after a couple of cows without being kept from their daily work; and the other live better by the ſmall addition made to their arable. For the condition of one of thoſe little farmers, is really deplorable, it is worſe than that of a common labourer.

The evils mentioned above, ſo far as they are a conſequence of the preſent mode of incloſing, might be prevented, if on taking in of a field it be parcelled into as many farms as the occupiers with proper huſbandry and frugality may pay their rents regularly, and live decently upon, without hurting the landlord's eſtate. Since by making as many farms as may be with convenience, one man has a chance for living as well as another. Farms ſhould be of different ſizes, anſwering to men's reſpective abilities for cultivating them to the greateſt advantage; better for the man to be a little above his farm than his farm above him: they ſhould be greater and leſs in proportion to the quality of the ſoil, the circumſtances of thoſe who are to be tenants, and the number of perſons in want of them, and applying for them. Care alſo ſhould be taken on laying out the lands of the ſeveral proprietors, that two plots or parcels of ground be ſet out for the cottagers, in content proportioned to the number of them, and to the quality of the ſoil, one for ſummer paſturage, the other for hay to ſubſiſt the cows on in winter. Thoſe two paſtures ſhould lie within ſuch a diſtance from home as that the huſband may fodder before he goes to his daily labour, and the wife milk her cows without keeping a maid, or being obliged to call in another to do it for her. I mention this, becauſe in many places, either through the ignorance, or ſomething worſe, of the commiſ-

ſioners,

ſioners, the portions of ground aſſigned for the working poor are thrown upon, or near to, the extreme limits of the lordſhip, by which untoward circumſtance the cattle muſt either be neglected, or in ſhort days the man kept at home from his work, or ſome one hired to give them their meat in proper ſeaſon. But who ſo fit to look after ſuch a modicum of ſtock as the man himſelf!

As the ſame ground when incloſed, whether turned into paſturage or held on in tillage, will require fewer hands to work it, than when lying in common, there will be generally ſome to ſpare which may be employed in any other branch of buſineſs. But thoſe never can be many if the lands are properly divided, and farms made of them ſuitable to the circumſtances of the tenants.

Should the ſame quantity, or nearly ſo, of land be continued for the growing of corn after as before it was incloſed, though not ſo many ſervants or labourers might be wanted to prepare and get it into order for ſowing, yet the produce, acre for acre, being for the moſt part much greater than in common fields, the difference, on the whole, in the article of labour would be very inconſiderable. The exceſs moſt commonly on the ſide of the incloſure.

Another inconvenience, which is ſorely felt by the tradeſman, the mechanick, a common labourer, from incloſure, is the diſcontinuance of the breed of cattle in a degree, as not to anſwer the demand for home conſumption. Such a number of calves and lambs ſhould be reared every year, as may fill up the vacancies yearly made by accidental deaths and ſlaughter. When this proportion is kept up, or nearly ſo, there will be no other difference in the price of butchers meat betwixt one year and another, than what is occaſioned by the fruitfulneſs or unfruitfulneſs of the ſeaſons.

The root of the evil lies here. The rent of inclosed land is generally so high, that the tenant cannot wait till he fatteneth the stock he should breed. It is too long for beasts to remain four or five years (and sometimes it will be more than this before they are fit for feeding) upon his hands, without making any thing of them. The circumstances he is in, as well as the condition of his farm, require a more speedy disposal of them. In some seasons the feeder will make two or three returns in a year from the same pasture. If his profits be less at a time, they come quicker upon each other; and the frequency of repetition more than makes amends for a deficiency in quantity. More attendance, more care is requisite in breeding and feeding, than in feeding *only*; and the less trouble the better: at least most think so. And some pride themselves that they are not such slaves to business as many are doomed to be. The not breeding annually a sufficiency of stock is an evil; but an evil for which our legislature may in some measure find a remedy. The remedy is oft in the hand of the landlord, by obliging the tenant at the time of taking his farm to breed such a number of each species of cattle as is answered to his rent, or the acres he occupies; provided the situation of the ground, and quality of soil, do not forbid it. For those are weighty considerations, and not to be overlooked. Some farms are better laid out for breeding than feeding; and others for feeding than breeding. Proper attention and regard should ever be paid to those points. We can indeed in no case fix upon a rule so comprehensive, but what some exemptions from it will be necessary. It is so here: the matter must therefore be left, as in reason it ought, to the discretion of the parties concerned. As few restraints as possible should be imposed: for freedom is the very life and soul of all ingenuity and industry.

Yet

Yet ſome, I humbly apprehend, are requiſite in the affair under conſideration.

But the moſt efficacious remedy ariſes out of the evil itſelf, or from what makes it one, and is always, ſooner or later, adminiſtered by it. When fat cattle ſell high, lean ones of courſe will, if not prevented at times by a ſcarcity of fodder, do the ſame. It has been remarked by good judges, that the latter have all this laſt year ſold dearer in proportion than the other. A more prevailing motive for all to breed, who can with any ſort of convenience, need not be ſought for. And ſince young ſtock have been ſo much upon the advance, we have the laſt two years had almoſt twice the number of calves reared in thoſe parts to what were in the two preceding ones. We ſhall, therefore, it is hoped, in a few years have the ſame quantity of horned cattle in the nation as formerly.

LINCOLNIENSIS.

One of the Cauſes of the Dearneſs of Proviſions.

THE exceſſive price of proviſions, ſo univerſally felt, and juſtly complained of, has been the ſubject of many letters; but as I do not remember to have ſeen any one that has truly pointed out the cauſe, and propoſed any reaſonable remedy, in regard to fleſh meat, I ſhall therefore take no notice of the monopolizing of farms, withholding the corn from market, combinations, engroſſings, foreſtallings, &c. all which has been fully proved of pernicious conſequence already, but confine myſelf to fleſh meat only.

I don't doubt but it will appear a little ſurpriſing, when I aſſert that notwithſtanding the great utility of turnpikes in travelling, they have been the primary cauſe of the ſcarcity of horned cattle; in doing this, I ſhall confine myſelf to one county only, which I have a perfect knowledge of, not

in the leaſt doubting, but the very ſame reaſons may be offered for other counties.

The inhabitants of the county of Somerſet, before Shaftſbury turnpike was erected, (which is about twelve years ſince) rarely drew their waggons with leſs than three yoke of oxen, and one horſe to lead; for in their ſtiff clays, horſes were in a manner uſeleſs, by reaſon they could ſcarce draw their feet out of the clay; whereas the oxen, by means of their cloven feet, can draw them out with great facility; but as the roads became better, the number of oxen decreaſed, and thoſe of horſes increaſed; ſo that it is almoſt a rarity now to ſee a waggon with oxen as formerly. Thus it is exceeding plain, how horned cattle have become ſo ſcarce, and horſe corn dear. As to the breeders, it is natural for them to breed what pays them beſt, which, by the great demand for horſes by the farmers, carriers, and poſt-chaiſes, they find moſt profitable, to the almoſt total neglect of horned cattle. This is the real ſtate of the caſe.

I ſhall offer another cauſe which calls aloud to have a ſtop put to it, in doing which I ſhall confine myſelf to one town only, which is Glaſtonbury. I have been very credibly informed, that through the ſeaſon, on an average weekly, there are about two hundred calves brought to that town, great part of which, are what they term heathens, that is, they have not been ſuffered to live to ſee a Sunday. Now let any one judge, whether theſe may be termed wholeſome? purgative they certainly are, but nouriſhing they cannot be: beſides, their being ſo very ſmall, cauſes a greater conſumption of other cattle; whereas, were the owners compelled to keep them until they were a month at leaſt old, it would not only afford good nouriſhment to the conſumers, but prevent the ſlaughtering of at leaſt two thouſand ſheep, and forty or fifty bullocks in a year, which

(this

(this calculation being confined to one town) would be an exceſſive number in the whole nation.

I could therefore heartily wiſh, that every farmer that rents fifty or ſixty pounds per annum, was obliged to keep one yoke of oxen for draught; thoſe of one hundred, or upwards, two yoke of oxen; and thoſe of two hundred, three yoke of oxen, and ſo on: by which means we ſhould never want a ſufficient ſupply of horned cattle, without the help of Scotland or Ireland: And as this would cauſe plenty, they would naturally be cheap, and conſequently would be the only means to reduce the price of mutton, pork, &c. in order to which, I apprehend there needs no more than encouraging the growing, or training up of horned cattle, by obliging the breeders to rear up every fifth, ſixth, or ſeventh calf, as ſeems moſt proper, at leaſt for three years, and to diſcourage the breeding of horſes, for an equal time (which are only food for dogs) by laying an embargo on their going abroad. By this means we ſhould have a conſtant ſupply of horned cattle in a little time, and every thing would run in its proper channel as heretofore.

Thus I have offered my opinion on the riſe of meat proviſions, and have humbly hinted the only means requiſite, to redreſs ſo great an evil, which falls ſo cruelly heavy on the people in general, and the poor in particular; and if the reaſons offered ſeem to carry any weight, I ſhould be glad to ſee them put into execution, unleſs ſome other means more conducive to ſo ſalutary an end can be found out.

H. Z.

Life

Life of the celebrated John Hampden. By Mrs. Macaulay.

The following is the brief Hiſtory of a *real* Patriot, not a Patriot *pro tempore*; of a man who honeſtly defied all courtly temptations, and remained to the laſt true to the pre-eminent cauſe he engaged in, that of LIBERTY; of a man who nobly dared to ſupport, even as Clarendon acknowledges, "at his own expence, the liberty and property of this kingdom, and, *as he thought*, reſcue his country from being made a prey to the court," and in fighting for whoſe freedom he bravely died; of a man, in ſhort, the goodneſs of whoſe heart, and ſoundneſs of whoſe judgment, no qualifications can rival, unleſs we except the genius of the female Hiſtorian, who has depicted him in the following manner:

"HAMPDEN * was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient families in Buckinghamſhire; and the death of his parents devolving on him early the poſſeſſion of a large and opulent fortune, this circumſtance concurring with the vivacity of youth, excited him to indulge in thoſe amuſements which confine the excellencies of genius to the narrow compaſs of private gratification. At the age of fifteen he left the Univerſity, and, finiſhing his education at the Inns of Court, made a conſiderable progreſs in the common law. After he had paſſed his thirtieth year, he was choſen to repreſent his country in Parliament; an incident which rouſed to exertion thoſe principles of virtue

* He was born in the Year 1594, and had attained the age of forty-two before he acquired any national notice; nor would then, had not the illegal, tyrannical demands of Charles I. ſtimulated him to the defence of his half-enſlaved country.

and

and affection to the public, which lay latent in his character. He was conſulted by the leading Members of Parliament in all the important points of oppoſition, and joined heartily in the proſecution of the Duke of Buckingham, and other buſineſſes carried againſt the Court. As it was Hampden's peculiar talent to act powerfully when he ſeemed the moſt diſengaged, and as he never put himſelf forward but when forwardneſs was neceſſary, ſo in this Parliament he was not thought an opponent formidable enough to be pricked down for Sheriff to prevent his election in the enſuing one, and eſcaped a commitment to the Tower in 1628, for what was termed a riotous proceeding in Parliament: but his honour not permitting him to comply with the illegal exaction of a loan, he was among thoſe who ſuffered impriſonment on this buſineſs. The trial of ſhip money, in the year 1636, unfoulded to public view thoſe patriotic virtues which modeſty, diffidence, or art, had hitherto in ſome meaſure obſcured; and as the infamous judgment given by the judges on this cauſe, rouſed the nation to a more ſerious attention to the conduct and views of the court, thoſe men of genius and abilities who laid the grounds for the ſucceeding revolution, began to concert meaſures how to improve to an effectual height, the growing diſcontent; whilſt the frantic tyranny of Laud, with his attempt to impoſe his ſuperſtitious ceremonies on the Scots, gave ſuch an advantage to the deſigns of the party, that matters came to a ripeneſs in leſs than four years after this period; a ſpace of time which had been ſo ſedulouſly employed by the active Patriots, who had continual meetings to conſult on the buſineſs of oppoſition, that Mr. Hampden, it is ſaid, had made ſeveral expeditions into Scotland before the commotions in that kingdom broke out. From the time when he engaged in the

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important ſcheme of abridging the power of the court, and reforming the government of the country, he totally diſcarded the levities of his youth, and became remarkable for his ſobriety and ſtrictneſs of manners; which, ſtill retaining his natural vivacity of temper, he embelliſhed with an affable, chearful, and poliſhed behaviour.

"In the Parliament of 1640, an event which had been long impatiently expected by the people, and to which the indefatigable induſtry, activity, and abilities of Hampden had in a great meaſure conduced, he was one of the chief directors of the anti-court party, and ſpecially truſted in the buſineſs of watching the King's conduct in Scotland, and preventing the Scots being ſeduced from the intereſts of Liberty by the cabals and cajolements of the Court; his art of directing the underſtanding and governing the inclinations of men being ſuch, that, in all the tranſactions between the two nations, he was appointed by the Parliament one of the Commiſſioners to treat with that people. When the quarrel between the King and the Parliament came to hoſtilities, he accepted the command of a regiment of foot under the Earl of Eſſex, and was one of the firſt who opened the war, by an action at a place called Brill, in Buckinghamſhire. As the ſagacity and intrepidity of his conduct, in the character of a Senator, had rendered him ſo much the object of the King's indignation, as to be one of the ſix members marked for particular vengeance, ſo his activity and bravery in the field, and his wiſe and ſpirited counſels on the operations of the war, rendered him ſo formidable a rival of Eſſex, that it was thought, had he lived, his party, who were at this time highly incenſed at their General's conduct, would have taken his command from him, and given it to Hampden.

"Clarendon

" Clarendon has pretended to draw the exact portraiture of this eminent perſonage; but though marked with thoſe partial lines which diſtinguiſh the hand of the hiſtorian, it is the teſtimony of an enemy to virtues poſſeſſed only by the foremoſt rank of men. With all the talents and virtues that render private life uſeful, amiable, and reſpectable, were united in Hampden in the higheſt degree, thoſe excellencies which guide the jarring opinions of popular councils to determined points; and, whilſt he penetrated into the moſt ſecret deſigns of other men, he never diſcovered more of his own inclinations than was neceſſary to the purpoſe in hand. In debate he was ſo much a maſter, that, joining the art of Socrates with the graces of Cicero, he fixed his own opinion under the modeſt guiſe of deſiring to improve by that of others; and, contrary to the nature of diſputes, left a pleaſing impreſſion, which prejudiced his antagoniſt in his favour, even when he had not convinced or altered his judgment. His carriage was ſo generally uniformly, and unaffectedly affable; his converſation ſo enlivened by his vivacity, ſo ſeaſoned by his knowledge and underſtanding, and ſo well applied to the genius, humour, and prejudices of thoſe he converſed with, that his talents to gain popularity were abſolute. With qualities of this high nature, he poſſeſſed in council penetration and diſcernment, with a ſagacity on which no one could impoſe, an induſtry and vigilance that were indefatigable, with the entire maſtery of his paſſions and affections; an advantage which gave him infinite ſuperiority over leſs regulated minds. Whilſt there were any hopes that the adminiſtration of the country could be corrected without the entire overthrow of the conſtitution, Hampden choſe before other preferment the ſuperintendency of the prince's mind, aiming to cor-

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rect the ſource from whence the happineſs or miſfortunes of the empire, if the government continued monarchical, muſt flow; but the averſion which the King diſcoverd to thoſe regulations which were neceſſary to ſecure the freedom of the conſtitution from any future attempt of the crown, with the ſchemes he had entered on to puniſh the authors of reformation, and reſcind his conceſſions, determined the conduct of Hampden. Convinced that Charles's affections and underſtanding were too corrupt to be truſted with power in any degree, he ſought the abolition of monarchy, as the only cure to national grievances; warmly oppoſing all overtures for treaties as dangerous ſnares, or other expedient than conqueſt for accommodation. It was him the party relied on, to animate the cold counſels of their General; it was his example and influence they truſted to keep him honeſt to the intereſt of the public, and to preſerve to the parliament the affections of the army. Had he been at firſt appointed to the ſupreme military command, the civil war, under all the horrors of which the country languiſhed more than three years, would have been but of ſhort continuance."

F I N I S.

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